

INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL

Volume III

CONTAINING INSCRIPTIONS OF
THE CHANDRAS, THE VARMAH AND THE SENAS,
AND OF ISVARAGHOSHA AND DAMODARA

~~D-1842~~

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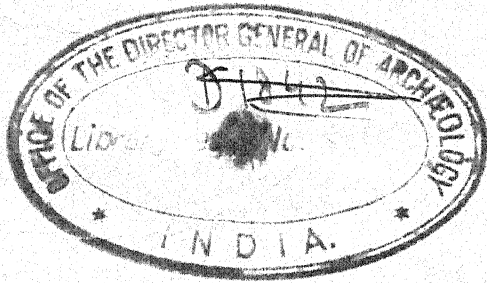
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EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

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~~D-1842~~

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THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

to the memory of

the late RANI DRAVAMAYĪ

consort of the late

RAJA PRAMATHA NATH RAY BAHADUR

of DIGHAPATIYA

and mother of

the late RAJA PRAMADA NATH RAY,

the late KUMAR BASANTA KUMAR RAY,

KUMAR SARAT KUMAR RAY,

KUMAR HEMENDRA KUMAR RAY and

RAJKUMARI INDUPRABHA CHAUDHURANI

who have all contributed towards

the foundation and development

of the VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY

and its MUSEUM.

FOREWORD

It is a matter of congratulation to the Society that it is now able to publish—though after an interval of several years—a further compilation of the inscriptions of Bengal. For this step the Society is indebted to Mr. Nani Gopal Majumdar who has edited the volume, and to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray who has provided funds for its publication.

In this volume have been brought together all the known inscriptions of the last century and a half of Hindu rule in Bengal—the time of the Sena kings and their immediate predecessors the Chandras and the Varmans. These inscriptions are practically the only reliable materials available for the history of this period and they are therefore invaluable to scholars. Of Mr. Majumdar's method of treatment of these records or the industry and scholarship he has brought to bear on the task, I do not presume to speak. The wide circle of scholars whom the book will reach through its English medium will judge of them. But I must bear testimony here to the zeal and devotion with which Mr. Majumdar has persevered in this task—an entirely honorary one—for three years and brought it to completion, through many difficulties—the failing health and death of his father, his long periods of absence from Rajshahi and subsequent transfer from there to a distant and more exacting sphere of work, and his dependence throughout on a press unused to this class of printing.

These circumstances have no doubt delayed the completion of the volume and added greatly to the errata, but it is some consolation to know that the delay has enabled Mr. Majumdar to include in his work some additional inscriptions and recent information. Now that the series has been re-opened with this volume, it is hoped that its two companion volumes dealing with the inscriptions of the Gupta and the Pāla periods will not be long in coming out, to be followed by a similar volume for the Muslim period as originally contemplated by the Society.

On behalf of the Society I desire to express here our grateful thanks to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray for his generously providing the entire cost of this publication.

VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY,

RAJSHAHI.

December, 1928

BIJAY NATH SARKAR,

Honorary Secretary.

PREFACE

In 1912, the Varendra Research Society brought out a compilation in Bengali, of the principal inscriptions of the Pāla period then known to scholars, in a volume entitled the *Gaudalekhamālā*, Vol. I, which was edited by Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra. At that time they expressed a desire to issue similar volumes containing the inscriptions of the Senas and other dynasties. (*Ibid.*, Preface). Owing, however, to the Society being engaged in other activities the idea could not be pursued for many years. In December, 1924, I came to Rajshahi as Curator of the Society's Museum, and soon afterwards, I was asked by the Council of Management to take up the work, starting with the Sena inscriptions. It was decided that the proposed work should be written in English instead of Bengali, so that it might reach a wider circle of readers. The manuscript was sent to the press early in 1926. Some additions and alterations have since been made in order to bring the work up-to-date. Information, which could not be incorporated in the body of the work, has been given at the end under "Additional Notes and Comments." I have furnished a map showing the find-spots of the inscriptions, facsimiles of eleven of them and at the end a glossary of terms denoting official titles. As the Society contemplates the publication of two companion volumes, one dealing with the Gupta and the other with the Pāla inscriptions, and as the present volume would come after them in chronological order, it is being published as "Volume III" of the series. In this volume, altogether seventeen inscriptions have been edited, besides six more dealt with in the Appendices. They belong roughly to the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., and include practically all the inscriptions of the Chandras, the Varmans and the Senas that are so far known. There are besides two isolated inscriptions (Nos. XVI and XVII) which do not appertain to any of these dynasties.

In preparing the present edition, I have compared the transcripts of my predecessors in the field with the original stones or copper-plates, whenever such have been available, and also scrutinized the various renderings which they have proposed. The language of the inscriptions being extremely artificial and complex, it has been a difficult task, sometimes indeed an impossibility, to present

a readable and at the same time faithful translation of the text, in a language which is not my own. In the introduction to each text, I have set forth, as briefly as possible, the historical information that may be reasonably derived from the record. It has thus been necessary for me to ransack the mass of literature, in English and in Bengali, relating to particular topics, connected with Bengal history of the period in question, and examine as far as possible the principal theories advanced thereon by different scholars. The main object that I have always kept in view is to present to students, dealing with the history of Bengal, a useful source book, with such bibliographical details as may be necessary for their guidance. As a rule, precaution has been taken to steer clear of all legendary data and give a matter-of-fact account of the records. This, I am afraid, has made the treatment somewhat dull. But it may be pointed out that legends unsupported by reliable evidence cannot be allowed to take the place of scientific, documented history. As an instance, mention may be made of a so-called copper-plate grant issued by a king called, 'Syāmalavarman', who has been identified by some writers with Śāmalavarman, the father of Bhojavarman of the Belāva copper-plate. A transcript of this grant, said to have been given by Kasi Chandra Vidyavagis of Samantasar (Faridpur Dist.) is quoted in the *Gauḍe Brāhmaṇa*, by Mahim Chandra Majumdar, p. 211-214, and another transcript said to be given in an old MS. of a *Kula-Pañjikā* of the Vaidic Brāhmaṇas is quoted by Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihās*, Brāhmaṇa Kāṇḍa, pt. 3, p. 22, n. But the fact is that the copper-plate has never been brought before the public. Again, royal titles like *Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara*, etc., which are prefixed to Syāmalavarman's name in the quotations aforesaid are specifically those assumed by the Sena kings and absent in the Belāva copper-plate. I have, therefore, thought it unsafe to utilize the evidence of the record in question, while dealing with the latter document.

My prolonged absence from Rajshahi owing to deputation to the excavations in Sind during the winters of 1925-26 and 1926-27 and ultimately my transfer, about the middle of 1927, to the Archæological Department, have interfered considerably with the printing of this volume. Misprints and other errors which have thus unavoidably crept into the work are pointed out as far as possible under "Additions and Corrections". For those that still remain I can only crave the indulgence of my readers.

I desire to express here my obligations to Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, Curator, Dacca Museum, for the loan of a half-tone block of the Kedārpur plate of Śrīchandra and of his transcript of the Dhullā plate ; to Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghose, Curator, Patna Museum, for the loan of an estampage of the Bhuvaneswar inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva ; to the authorities of the Calcutta Sahitya Parishat for the loan of the half-tone blocks of the Naihāṭi plate of Vallālasena and permission to photograph the seal of the Tarpanadighi plate of Lakshmaṇasena and take estampages of the plate of Viśvarūpasena ; to Pandit Amulyacharan Vidyabhusan for the present of a set of photographs and the loan of the half-tone blocks of the Govindapur plate of Lakshmaṇasena which though somewhat indistinct are the only evidence of the plate at present available ; to Mr. Johan Van Manen of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the loan of the half-tone blocks of the Belāva plate of Bhojavarman and the Dacca image inscription of Lakshmaṇasena ; to the late Raja Tankanath Chaudhuri of Ramganj, Dinajpur, for lending Īśvaraghosha's copper-plate ; and to Mr. Bijaynath Sarkar of the Varendra Research Society, for preparing the map showing the provenance of the inscriptions.

I wish especially to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.A., of the Dighapatiya family, the founder of the Varendra Research Society and its Museum, who has always encouraged me in my work and helped me to get access to some of the records. I have also much pleasure in offering my hearty thanks to Mr. Bijaynath Sarkar, Honorary Secretary of the Society, without whose zeal and watchfulness the book would never have seen the light of day, and to Mr. Niradbandhu Sanyal, now Curator of the Society's Museum, who has rendered ungrudging help in correcting the proofs and provided me with a number of important references.

NANI GOPAL MAJUMDAR



1. RĀMPĀL COPPER-PLATE OF ŚRĪCHANDRA.

This copper-plate was traced in 1913 in the possession of one Yadunāth Vanikya of the village of Pañchasār in the Munshigunj sub-division of the district of Dacca, by Mr. Radhagovinda Basak who purchased it from him on behalf of the Varendra Research Society. The original findspot of the copper plate seems to have been somewhere in Rāmpāl, one mile and a half from the village of Pañchasār where it was discovered in course of digging the land. It is now deposited in the Society's Museum at Rājshāhī.

The inscription, which the copper-plate bears, was first edited by Mr. Basak in the Bengali Journal *Sāhitya*, 1320 B. S., Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra and later on by him again in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 136-142 and plates.

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides, measuring about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by 8". It bears a seal attached to the top from which it projects about $2\frac{3}{4}$ " and causes a break in the middle of the first four lines on the obverse and of the first two lines on the reverse. In line 31 the seal is described as the *Dharmachakramudrā* or 'the emblem of the Wheel of Law'. It consists of a number of concentric circles the innermost of which has in its upper part representation of a wheel flanked on two sides by two gazelles. This is, as is well known, the emblem also of the Pālas and found affixed to their copper-plates. Below the representation, across the seal, is the legend *Śrī-Śrīchandradevaḥ*. The edges of the copper-plate are raised into rims and it is on the whole well preserved excepting for the fact that some letters on the reverse side are badly damaged as a result, we are told, of the application of Nitric Acid for cleaning before the object came into the hands of Mr. Basak. The inscription consists of 40 lines of which 28 are engraved on the obverse and 12 only on the reverse. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The characters are a type of Northern Nāgarī which is allied to the alphabet found in the copper-plates of the Later Pālas and was current in North-eastern India towards the close of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century A.D.—The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the beginning formula *om svasti* the inscription is in verse up to about the end of line 14. There are again the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 34-40. The rest of the inscription is in prose. There are altogether thirteen verses which are composed in a variety of metres viz., Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Upajāti, Indravajrā, Anushtubh and Pushpitāgrā.

As regards orthography it should be noted that the same sign is used throughout both for *b* and *v*; a letter following the superscript *r* is usually doubled; and the guttural nasal takes the place of *anusvāra* in two places (*-vaṇṣe*, 1.3 and *-ākarāṇṣuh*, 1.6) before a palatal sibilant. An important orthographical feature which brings this record in a line with some of the Pāla copper-plates¹ is the retention of the final *m* before the letter *v* with which it is joined, e.g., in *śriyām=vikhyāto*, 1.4. The sign of *avagraha* is employed in four out of seven places.

The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājā-dhirāja*, the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e., Buddha), the illustrious Śrī-chandradeva, 'who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Trailokyachandradeva. The record opens with the auspicious formula *om svasti* followed by a verse in honour of Jina (i.e., Buddha), Dharma, and also indirectly of Saṃgha (ll. 1-3). It then mentions that one Pūrṇachandra was born in the family of the Chandras who were rulers of Rohitāgiri (ll. 3-5). His son was Suvarṇachandra (ll. 5-8). His son Trailokyachandra, who became king in Chandradvīpa, is described as 'the support of the Fortune goddesses (of kings) who rejoiced at the umbrella which was the insignia of royalty of the king of Harikela' (ll. 8-10). His wife was Śrīkāñchanā who bore a son Śrīchandra by name (ll. 11-13). This document was issued by him from his 'camp of victory' situated at Vikramapura (ll. 14-15). It records the grant of 1 *pātaka* of land in the village of Nehakāshṭhi in the Nānyamaṇḍala of the Pauṇḍrabhukti² (1.17). Lines 18-26 contain the customary list of officials and other persons connected with the grant to whom the charter was addressed, as well as the conditions under which it was given. The donee was the *Sāntivārīka* Pītavāsaguptaśarmman, great grandson of Makkaḍagupta, grandson of Varāhagupta and son of Sumaṅgalagupta, belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and the *pravara* of the three *Rishis* (ll. 26-28). The inscription terminates with the benedictive and imprecatory verses, but neither the name of the *Dūta* nor any official endorsement occurs at the end.

Two more records belonging to the reign of Śrīchandra have been discovered viz., the Idilpur and Kedārpur copper-plates. Of these the former has not yet been edited and is known only from an abstract published in the *Dacca Review*,

¹ E. g. Khālīmpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla, *Ep. ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 245; Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla, *Ep. ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 310ff.

² This is evidently the same as Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti. It is called briefly Pauṇḍra-bhukti also in Belāva copper-plate. See below p. 15.

for October 1912, and subsequently reproduced in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90, in course of an article on the latter by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali. The Kedārpur plate is an unfinished document inasmuch as it contains only the stereotyped portion giving the genealogy, the grant itself being not recorded at all. The present one is therefore the only record that may be utilised for historical purposes.

The Chandras do not seem to have originally belonged to Bengal. In verse 2 it is stated that they were rulers of Rohitāgiri, which is identifiable with Rohtāsgadh in the Sāhābād district of Bihar. They emigrated to Eastern Bengal, and most probably taking advantage of the weakness of the declining Pāla power carved out a kingdom for themselves. Trailokyachandra, to whom the title *mahārājādhirāja* has been assigned, was very likely responsible for the rise of this new power in Eastern Bengal. His kingdom was Harikela i.e., Eastern Bengal, including Chandradvīpa, which was the home territory of this dynasty. 'Harikela' is mentioned in Hemachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* (v. 957) as a synonym of 'Vaṅga' and it is described by the Chinese traveller I-tsing as the eastern limit of Eastern India'.¹ It is again included in a list of 64 sacred places or *Pīṭhas* of the Tāntrika Buddhists in the *Dākṛṇava*.² And in M. Foucher's *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Vol. I, p. 200, no. 55) there is reproduced the text of a miniature label which reads *H rikelladeśe Śīlā kanāṭ aḥ* or 'the Śīla-Lokanātha in the country of Harikela'. Another label (ibid., p. 192, no. 17) reads: *Chandradvīpe Bhagavatī Tārā* or 'the goddess Tārā in Chandradvīpa'. Moreover we know that the Chandras, at any rate Śrīchandra and his two immediate predecessors, were devout Buddhists. In Eastern Bengal this Buddhist dynasty was succeeded by the Varmans and the latter again by the Senas. In other parts of Bengal the power of the premier Buddhist dynasty of the Pālas was overthrown by the Brahmanical family of the Senas. Thus in the twelfth century A. D. Buddhism entirely lost state support in Bengal. At the time of the Muhammadan invasion perhaps the only dynasty that adhered to Buddhism in North-eastern India was a minor one of Bodhgayā, who called themselves Pīṭhīpatīs³ and probably did not rule over a territory reaching far beyond Bodhgayā and its immediate neighbourhood.

A certain Govinda Chandra, king of Vaṅgāla-deśa, i.e. E. Bengal, is mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of 1025 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 231.) He might have belonged to this Chandra dynasty.

¹ Takakasu, *I-tsing*, p. XLVI.

² Śāstri, *Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in the Govt. Coll.*, Vol. I (1917), p. 92. Cf. Levi, *Ind. Ant.*, 1906, p. 21.

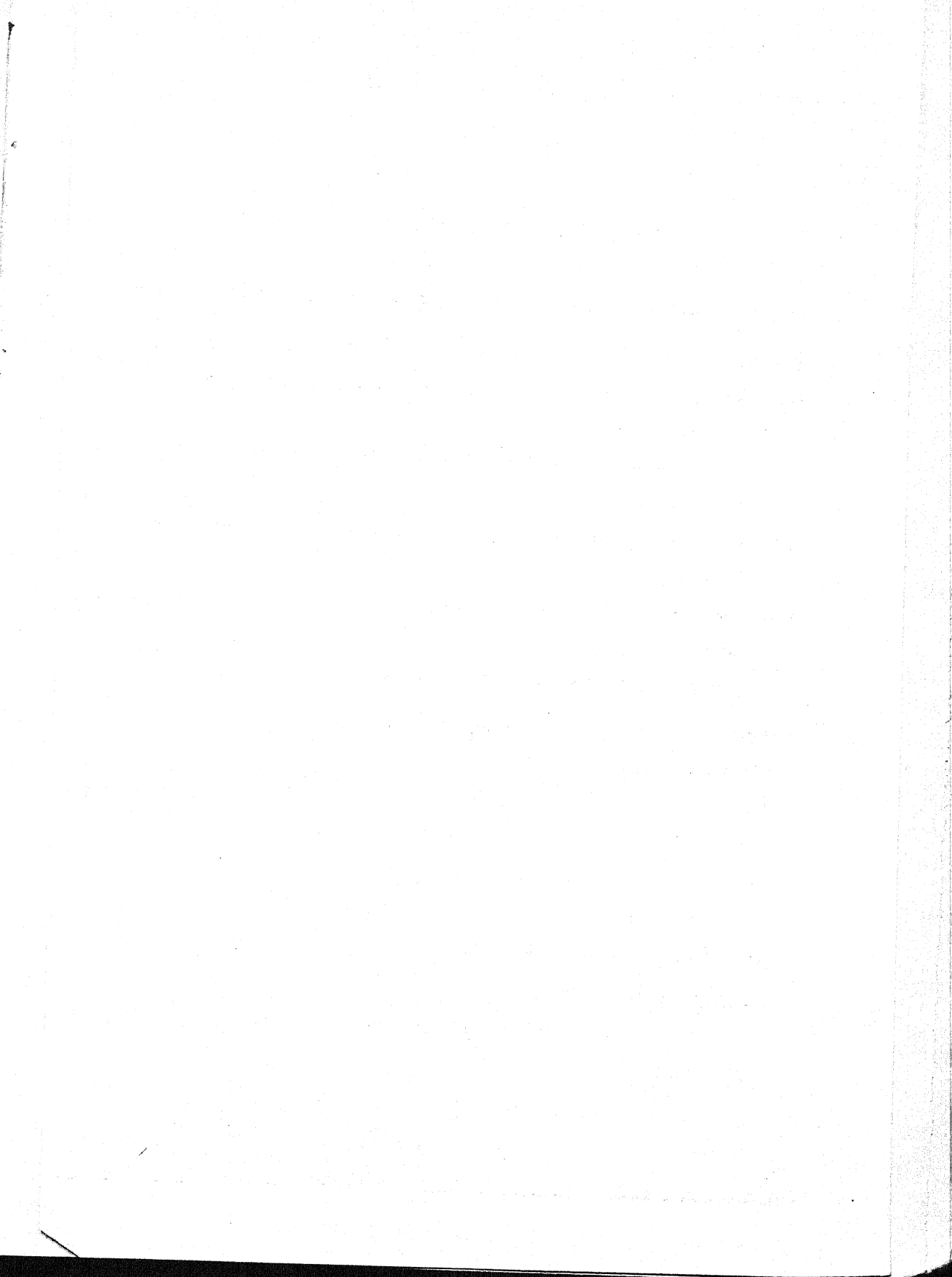
³ Majumdar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 43 ff.

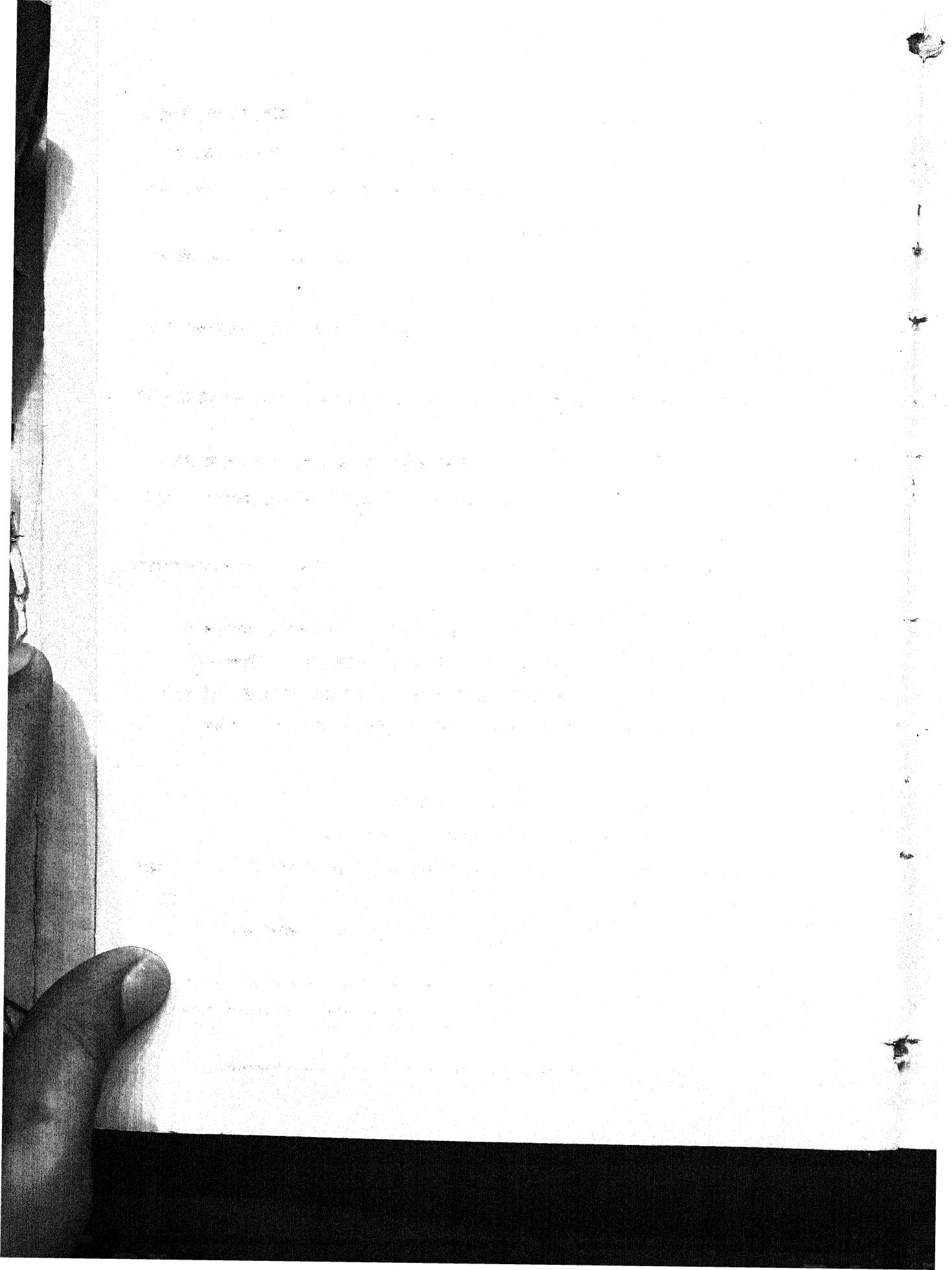
TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ ¹ स्वस्ति । ²व[न्द्यो] जिनः स भगवान्-करुणै(क)-पात्रं धर्म्मोप्यसौ
 2 विजयते जगदेकदीपः । यत्कै[त्से]वया सकल एव महानुभावः सं-
 3 सारपारमुपगच्छति भिक्षुसङ्घः³ ॥[1*] ⁴चन्द्राणामिह रोहितागि(रि)भुजाम्बुश⁵
 4 विशालश्रियांस्विख्यातो⁶ भुवि पूर्य⁷चन्द्रसदृशः श्रीपूर्य⁸चन्द्रोऽभवत् । अर्च्चा-
 5 नाम्पदपौठिकासु⁹ पठितः सन्तानिनामग्रतष्टङ्कोत्कोर्य¹⁰-नवप्रशस्तिषु जयस्तम्भेषु
 ताम्भेषु च ॥ [2*] ¹¹बुद्धस्य यः श-
 6 शकजातकमङ्गसंस्थं भक्त्या बिभर्त्ति भगवानमृताकराङ्गः¹² । चन्द्रस्य तस्य कुलजात इतीव
 बौद्ध (:) पुत्रः
 7 श्रुतो जगति तस्य सुवर्ण¹³चन्द्रः ॥[3*] ¹⁴द[र्शे]स्य माता किल दोहदेन दिदृक्षमाणो-
 दयिचन्द्रबिम्बं ।
 8 सुवर्ण¹⁵चन्द्रेण हि तोषितेति सुवर्ण¹⁶चन्द्रं समुदाहरन्ति ॥[4*] ¹⁷पुत्रस्तस्य पविचितोभयकुलः
 कौलीन¹⁸-
 9 -भीताशयैस्त्रैलोक्ये विदितो दिशामतिथिभिस्त्रैलोक्यचन्द्रो गुणैः । आधारो हरिकेल-रा-
 10 ज-ककुद-च्छचस्मितानां श्रियां यश्चन्द्रोपपदे बभूव नृपतिर्द्वीपे दिलीपीपमः ॥ [5*]
¹⁹ज्योत्स्नेव चन्द्रस्य
 11 शचीव जिष्णोर्गौरो हरस्येव हरिविव श्रीः । तस्य प्रिया काञ्चनकान्तिरासीच्छ्री-
 श्रीकाञ्चनेत्यञ्चित-²⁰
 12 शासनस्य ॥[6*] ²¹स राजयोगिन शम्भे सुहर्त्ते मौहूर्त्तिकैः सूचितराजचिह्नं [1*]
 अवाप तस्यां तनयं
 13 नयन्नः श्रीचन्द्रमिन्द्र(न्दू)पममिन्द्रतेजाः ॥ [7*] ²²एकातपत्राभरणां भुवं यो विधाय
 वैधेयजनाविधे-
 14 यः । चकार कारासु निवेशितारिर्यशःसुगन्धोनि दिशं मुखानि ॥ [8*] स खलु
 श्रीविक्रमपु-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.⁴ Metre : Śārdūla-vikrīḍita.⁷ Read *archānām pada*. The letter *nā* is so written as it looks like *nā*.⁹ Read *-ākarānśub*.¹² Only a portion of *na* is incised.¹⁴ The second *śrī* is redundant and should be omitted.² Metre : Vasantatilakā.⁵ Read *-bhujām vambē*.¹⁰ Metre : Upajāti.³ Mr. Basak reads *saṅgha*.⁶ Read *-śrīyām rikhyāto*.⁸ Metre : Vasantatilakā.¹¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Metre : Indravajrā.¹⁵ Metre : Upajāti.¹⁶ Metre : Upajāti.





- 15 र-समावासित-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमच्चै लोच्य चन्द्रदे-
 16 व-पादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् श्रीचन्द्रदेवः कुश-
 17 ली ॥ श्रीपौण्ड्रभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-नान्यमण्डले । नेहकाष्ठिग्रामे पाटकमूमौ ॥ समुपगताशे-
 18 ष राजपुरुषराज्ञीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहाव्यूहपतिमण्डलपतिमहासन्धि-
 19 विग्रहिक । महासेनापति । महाक्षपटलिक । महासर्वाधिकृत । महाप्रतीहार ।
 कोटपाल । दौः-
 20 साधसाधनिक । चौरौद्धरणिक । नौबलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्यापृतक ।
 गौत्तिक । [शौ]-
 21 त्तिक [।*]दाण्डपाशिक[।*]दण्डनायक-[।*] विषयपत्यदिनन्यांश्च¹ सकलराजपादोजीवनो²
 ऽध्यक्षप्र-³
 22 चारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्तितान् । चाटभ(ट)जातीयान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथाहं मान-
 23 यति बोधयति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां । यथोपरिलिखितभूमिरियं । स्वसी-
 मावच्छी(च्छि)-⁴
 24 न्ना । दण्डपूतिगोचरपर्यन्ता । सतला । सोद्देशा । साम्नपनसा । सगुवाकनालिकेरा
 सलवणा स-
 25 जलस्थला । सगर्तोषरा सदशापराधा । सचौरौद्धरणा परिहृतसर्वपीडा अचाटभट्टप्र-
 26 वेशा अकिञ्चित्प्राज्ञा । समस्तराजभोगकरहिरण्यप्रत्यायसहिता । श(?)थल्यस्यगो-
 27 त्राय⁵ त्रा[र्षि]प्रवराय ।⁶ मकडगुप्तस्य⁷ प्रपौत्राय वराहगुप्त-पौत्राय सुमङ्गलगुप्तस्य पुत्रा-
 28 य । शान्तिवारिकश्रीपौतवासगुप्तशर्मणे । विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं कृत्वा कोटिहोमेङ्ग⁸

Reverse.

- 29 तवते भगवन्तं बुद्धभट्टा(र)कमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च
 30 पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । आचन्द्रार्कं क्षितिसमकालं यावत् भूमि(च्छि)
 31 -द्रन्यायेन । श्रीमज्जर्म-चक्रमुद्रया ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्ताऽस्माभिः [।*] अतो
 भवद्भिः सर्वै-
 32 रनुमन्तव्यं ।⁹ भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिर्भूमिर्हानफल-गौरवाटपहरणे महानरकपा-

¹ Read -paty-ādīn.

² Read -pādopajivino. This portion bears signs of erasure of the engraver. An *i*-stroke was at first put in after sakala and then erased.

³ The letter *dhyā* is so written as it looks like *pyā*.

⁴ The last letter is not properly incised.

⁵ Read *Saṇḍilyasa*-. The first two letters have not been correctly engraved.

⁶ The superscript *r* as well as the *i* stroke is not clear.

⁷ Mr. Basak reads *Makkara*. But the last letter looks not like *ra* but like *ḍa*.

⁸ Read *Kṛtikoman-ga*-. This corrected reading occurs as original in Mr. Basak's transcript.

⁹ This mark of interpunction is dropped in Mr. Basak's transcript.

- 33 तभयाच्च दानमिदमनुमोद्यानुपालनीयम् [1] निवासिभि¹ क्षेत्रकरांश्च² ऽ(आ)ज्ञाश्रवणविधे-
 34 योभूय (य)थोचितप्रत्यायोपनयः कार्य इति ॥ भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥
³भूमिं यः
 35 प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभो तौ पुण्यकर्माणो नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[9*]
⁴षष्ठिम्ब[र्ष]सहस्रा⁵
 36 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं⁶ वसेत(त्) ॥[10*]
⁷स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा⁸ यो ह-
 37 -रेत वसुन्धराम् । स विष्टायम्⁹ क्रिमि¹⁰भूत्वा पि[तृ]भिः [सह पच्यते] ॥[11*]¹¹बहुभि-
^व(सु)धा दत्ता राजभिः सग-
 38 रादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्त]स्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[12*]¹²इति कमल-
^{दा}स्वविन्दु¹³ लोलां
 39 श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजौवितश्च¹⁴ । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा नहि पुरुषैः पर-
 40 कौर्त्तयो वि(लो)प्याः ॥ [13*] O ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail !

(Verse 1). May that Lord Jina (*i.e.*, Buddha) who is the unique receptacle of mercy, be venerated ; and triumphant also be Dharma, the unique lamp of the world—in consequence of whose worship the entire noble-minded Samgha of monks transcends the series of continuous existence (*samsāra*).¹⁵

(Verse 2). In the family of the Chandras, (who were) rulers of Rohitāgiri, and were possessed of enormous fortune, Pūrṇachandra who was like the full moon, became illustrious in this world. (His name) was mentioned on the footstools of images, first among those 'who possess off spring,' and in novel panegyrics engraved by chisel on pillars of victory and copper-plates.

¹ Mr. Basak reads *vivāsibhi*. The second letter is so written as it looks like *nā*.

² Read *kshetrakaraiś* = *ch* =.

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ The superscript *r*-stroke is not clear. Read *ṣaṣṭīm varsha*.

⁶ Read *narake*.

⁷ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁸ Read *-dattām vā*.

⁹ Read *vishthāyām*.

¹⁰ Read *krimir* =.

¹¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

¹² Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

¹³ Read *-dal-āmbu*.

¹⁴ The *i*-stroke in *vi* is not fully engraved.

¹⁵ This verse occurs also at the beginning of the Kedārpur and also probably the Idilpur plates of Śrīchandra. The word *samsāra* seems to have been used here in its Buddhistic sense, so that going beyond the *samsāra* would mean attaining Nirvāṇa.

¹⁶ The meaning of the expression *saṁtāninām* = *agratah* is not quite clear.

(Verse 3). His son **Suvarṇachandra**, who was renowned in this world, became a follower of the Buddha, as if because he was born in the family of the Moon, the god, whose rays are the fountain-head of nectar and who devoutly bears in his lap the Buddha in his Hare-birth (*Śaśajā'aka*).¹

(Verse 4) As his mother had a desire, due to the longing (natural to a pregnant woman), of seeing the disc of the rising moon,² on a New Moon day, and as she was satisfied by (having) 'a golden moon' (namely her son, comparable to the New Moon in beauty), people gave him the name **Suvarṇachandra**.

(Verse 5). His son **Trailokyachandra**, wellknown in the three worlds, sanctified both the families' (i.e., paternal and maternal) by his Virtues that were afraid of scandal and became the guests of all Quarters (i.e., spread in every direction). He who was like **Dilīpa** became king in the '**Dvīpa**' (island) to which is joined (the word) '**Chandra**' and was the support of Fortune goddesses (of other kings smiling at (i.e., joyful on account of) the umbrella which was the royal insignia of the king of **Harikela**).⁴

(Verse 6). As the Moonlight (lady) of the Moon, **Sachī** of the Conqueror (i.e. **Indra**), **Gaurī** of **Hara** and **Śrī** of **Hari**, so also was **Śrīkāñchanā**, charming like gold (*kāñchana*), the beloved of that (king) whose authority was acknowledged (by all).

(Verse 7). He whose prowess was like that of **Indra** and who was versed in polity, got from her a son like the Moon, named **Śrīchandra** having royal marks indicated by prognosticians, at a moment that was auspicious on account of the *Rājayoga*.⁵

¹ As Mr. Basak points out the allusion is here to the wellknown *Śaśajātaka* (Fausboll's *Jātaka Texts*, Vol. III, No. 316). In my opinion the reference is to the story as preserved in its Sanskrit version (*Jāvakamalā* Kern's edition, pp. 27-33). On page 33 of this work an explanation is given as to why the Moon is called *Śaśāṅka*. In a former birth in which the Bodhisattva was a hare he sacrificed his own life for the cause of others and god Śakra being highly pleased with him decorated the moon with the mark of a hare. After this account there occurs the following remark :

Sampūrṇe=dy=āpi tad=idam śaśa-vimbaṁ niśākare
Chhāyāmayam=iv-ādarśe rājate divi rājate
Tataḥ prabhṛiti lokena kumudākaṣi-hāsanah
Kṣaṇātilakas=eन्द्राḥ śaśāṅka itī kīrtiyate.

The author of the inscription who was probably familiar with this explanation of the name of *Śaśāṅka*, utilised it in his own way in verse 3. The expression *śaśajātakaṁ=aṅka-saṁsthā* should be marked.

² It is a common belief (even at the present day) that if a pregnant woman sees the moon on New Moon days her issue becomes as beautiful as the moon.

³ Cf. Barrackpore grant—*ubhayakula-praudhi-sampadguṇāṇām* (verse 4).

⁴ Mr. Basak's translation of the last portion is : "the support of the royal majesty smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of **Harikela**".

⁵ "A constellation under which princes are born or a configuration of planets etc. at birth denoting a person destined for kingship." M. Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v. This verse seems to occur also in the Idilpur plate of **Śrīchandra**.

(Verse 8). Having made the Earth decorated with one single umbrella (namely, his own), that (king), who was never led astray by idiotic persons put his enemies in prison-houses and made the faces of the Quarters fragrant with his fame.

(Lines 14-16). Now, from his illustrious 'camp of victory' situated at *Vikramapura*, the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e. Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaddhāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Śrīchandradeva*, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja Trailokyachandradeva*, being in good health—

(Lines 17-23) duly honours, informs and orders all those that are present viz., the *Rājapurushas*, the queen, *Rānakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Rājāmātyas*, *Mahāvīryāpati*, *Maṇḍāpatas*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahākshapatalika*, *Mahāsarvādhikṛta*,¹ *Mahāpratihāra*, *Koṭṭapāla*, *Dauḥsādhasādhanika*, *Chauroddharanika*, officers in charge of fleet, infantry, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., the *Gaulmikas*, *Saulkikas*, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, *Vishayapatis*, and all others who are dependant on His Highness, mentioned in the list of officers, but not specified here, and those belonging to the class of *Chāṭas* and *Bhāṭas*, the tillers of the land, and the best among *Brāhmaṇas*—

(Line 17) in the matter of 1 *pātaka* of land in the village of *Nehakāshthi* belonging to the *Nānya-maṇḍala* of the *Paundra bhukti* :

(Lines 23-26). Be it known to you that this land, as described above, circumscribed within its own boundaries, along with grass, pūtiplant, pastures, with bottom and surface, with mango and jackfruit trees with betelnut and coconut trees, with salt, with land and water, with pits and barren tracts, with toleration of Ten Sins, with police (protection), immune from all kinds of forced labour, not to be entered by *Chāṭas* and *Bhāṭas*, free from all dues, with all the income such as taxes and gold enjoyed by the king,—

(Lines 26-31) is made over by Us by means of a copper-plate charter and affixing the illustrious *Dharmacha'ra* seal, in the name of lord Buddha-bhaddhāraka, and for the increase of merit and fame of myself and my parents, as long as the Sun, Moon and the Earth endure, according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra*, having duly touched the water, to the *Sāntivārika*² *Pitavāsagupta*—

¹ As pointed out by Mr. Basak this official designation occurs also in a copper-plate of *Īśvaraghoṣa* (Maitra, *Sāhitya*, 1320 B. S.). Cf. also the term *sarvādhikṛta* of *Vākātaka* copper-plates, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 237.

² It is probably the designation of the priest in charge of propitiatory ceremonies. (Cf. *nāgarārika*, 'the chief person in a court or assembly' (M. Williams). Cf. also such terms as *sāntyāgārādhikṛta* and *sāntyāgārika* occurring in Varman and Sena records,

śarman, who has undergone the Kotīhoma (ceremony),¹ who is the great grandson of Makkadagupta, grandson of Varāhagupta and son of Sumaṅgalagupta, belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and the *pravara* of the three Rishis.

(Lines 31-34). Therefore it should be approved by all of you. This gift should be approved of and protected by future kings also, considering that gift of land entails enormous merit and its taking away fear of falling into the great hell. By the cultivators also who dwell (upon the land)² my command (in this respect) should be obeyed, and all dues that are proper should be paid (to the donee). There are also verses in praise of Dharma in this matter :

(Verse 9). He who receives a landgrant and also he who bestows it, both attain merit and invariably go to Heaven.

(Verse 10). The giver of land rejoices in Heaven for sixty thousand years and the transgressor (of a gift) as well as he who approves (of transgression) dwells in Hell for the same number of years.

(Verse 11). He who takes away land given either by himself or by others rots along with his forefathers as a worm in dirt.

(Verse 12). Land has been given away by kings, Sagara and others ; whosoever at any time owns the land to him belongs at that time the fruit (of such grant).

(Verse 13). The good deeds of others should not be effaced by people considering that fortune as well as human life is as unsteady as a drop of water on a lotus petal, and also realising all that has been cited above.

¹ See M. Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v., and *Sanskrit-wörterbuch*, s. v. ; also *Grihyāsamgraha* (Bib. Ind.), verse 9, Prapāthaka I.

² Mr. Basak reads *vivāsibhiḥ* instead of *nivāsibhiḥ* which is the correct reading and translates 'by the dwellers abroad'. Cf. however *prativāsibhiḥ* occurring in this context in Pāla copper-plate grants.

II. KEDĀRPUR COPPER-PLATE OF ŚRĪCHANDRA.

This copper-plate was discovered in 1919 'in excavating earth from a ditch at the village of Kedārpur in the Mādāripur sub-division of the District of Faridpur. Soon after the discovery it came to the knowledge of Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭasali who got it acquired for the Dacca Museum.

The inscription, which the copper-plate bears, was edited without plates, by Mr. Bhaṭṭasali in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92. A facsimile is now published herewith from a halftone block kindly lent by him.

This is a **single plate** inscribed on one side only and measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". It bears a seal similar to that of the Rāmpāl copper plate having the emblem of the Wheel of Law. Across the seal is the legend *Śrī-Śrī-Chandradeva[h]*.

The record is an unfinished one, and consists of only 18 lines being engraved on the obverse. The size of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{16}$ " and $\frac{6}{32}$ ".

The characters are evidently of the same type as those in the Rāmpāl copper-plate—belonging to about the close of the tenth or the first part of the eleventh century A.D.—The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the beginning formula *om svasti* the inscription is in verse upto the end of line 15. The remaining portion (lines 16-18) is in prose. There are in all seven verses, composed in a variety of metres, viz., Vasantatilaka, Anuṣṭubh, Upajāti, Indravajrā, Sragdharā and Śārdūlavikrīḍita. In ll. 4-5 there is an extremely corrupt *pāda* of a verse in Anuṣṭubh metre which is almost impossible to restore.—As regards **orthography** the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, the guttural nasal is used before a palatal sibilant in *nistrinśa* (l. 9), a letter following a superscript *r* is usually doubled, a *visarga* before a dental sibilant becomes *s*, e.g., *s=sukriti* (l. 6) and the sign of *avagraha* is used in one out of two cases. The text is full of gross mistakes and shows extreme carelessness on the part of the scribe.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sugata (*i. e.*, Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Śrī-chandradeva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja Trailokyachandradeva* (ll. 16-18). It is represented to have been issued from his 'victorious camp' situated at **Vikramapura** (l. 16). The record opens with the auspicious formula *om svasti* which is followed by a stanza in

honour of the lord Jina (i. e., Buddha) and Dharmma, and also indirectly of the Saṅgha (ll. 1-3). It then gives the genealogy of the Chandras in six eulogistic verses mentioning first Pūrṇachandra (ll. 3-6, then his son Trailokyachandra ll. 6-9) and lastly Trailokyachandra's son Śrīchandra (ll. 10-15). Then comes the preamble of the prose-portion (*sa khalu* etc.) mentioning the name of the place from where the document is to be issued and so on. The inscription, however, abruptly ends there, so that the object of the inscription is not recorded at all. Thus we have a copper plate that was meant to be a charter issued by the king, but was ultimately left unfinished. Mr. Bhattasali thinks that it is 'no grant at all, but only a plate kept ready, with the stereo-typed portion of the grant inscribed in the office of issue to be filled in with the necessary remaining portions as occasion arose' (*loc. cit.*, p. 188). How far this view is tenable it is not possible to say. But other explanations such as the collapse of the power of the Chandras under Śrīchandra or the death of the donee, just when the plate was being engraved, may not be altogether unworthy of consideration.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ओ¹ स्वस्ति । ²वन्द्यो जिनः स भगवान् करुणैकपात्रं
- 2 धम्मोप्यसौ³ विजयते जगदेकदोषः [1*] यस्मेवया
- 3 सकल एव महानुभावः संसारपारमुपगच्छति भिक्षुसङ्घः ॥ [1*]⁴ पूर्ण-
- 4 चन्द्र इति श्रीमानासीन्नासीरजं रजः । यस्यो.....मातपत्रमपत्र-
- 5 पाः⁵ ॥ [2*] ⁶नाग्नौ विशुद्धो न तुलाधिरुद्धः किन्तु प्रकृत्यैव युतो गरिम्णा । तथापि क-
- 6 ल्याणमुवर्षकल्पः सुवर्णं चन्द्रसुसुती ततोभूत् ॥ [3*] ⁷पुण्यावलोकः परलो-
- 7 कभीरोर्लोक्यः समाश्वसित-जीवलोकः [1*] त्रैलोक्य-संकौर्त्तितपुण्यकौर्त्तः त्रै-
- 8 लोक्यचन्द्रो⁸स्य बभूव पुत्रः ॥ [4*] ⁹चतुःपयोराशिसमाप्तपृथ्वीजयाभिलाषो वि-
- 9 षयेष्वलुब्धः [1*] युद्धेषु निस्त्रिङ्शलताजलेन यो वैरिवह्निं स(श)मयाच्चकार ॥ [5*]

¹ Expressed by a symbol. Mr. Bhattasali reads it as *siddhir=astu*.

² Metre : Vasantatilaka.

³ Read *dharmmo=*.

⁴ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁵ This portion which forms the second *pāda* is extremely corrupt. Mr. Bhattasali reads... *yasyashashayoshat vrī[ta] mātapatramapatrapāh*. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri would suggest an emended reading *yasmā[d=dvi]shah si (she) dhuh [sva]* ...which however is very doubtful. Cf. verse 5 of the Rāmpāl plate: *ādhāro Harikeluvā-jakakuda-chchhabraśmīlānām sriṣām* etc. The original reading might have been something like *yasy=ari-yoshita s=tasya ātapatram=apa-trapāh*.

⁶ Metre : Upajāti.

⁷ Metre : Indravajrā.

⁸ Metre : Upajāti.

- 10 श्रीमान् श्रीचन्द्रदेवः समजनि तनयस्तस्य सहस्रवन्धोः क्रूरारम्भे स(द)यालुः
 11 परगुणमुखरो दोषवादैकमूकः [1*] प्रेक्ष्यः पीनो गुणानां निधिरिति
 12 विषयासक्तिपक्षाद्विपक्षे यस्मिन्ना(न्ना)धत्त वेधाः(ः) श्रियमतिरभसादर्थतो ना-
 13 मतश्च (॥) [6*] ²स्पृष्टः पार्थिवपांसुदोहरस स्रग्वाघनदिग्गजैर्³नेत्राणामनिमि-
 14 षतः परिहृतो दूरेण हृन्दारकैः [1*] केशेष्वम्बरसामपूर्वपलितभ्रान्तं
 15 समारोपयन् सन्तानो रजसां रणेसुषु ⁴जयिनो यस्य द्युमार्गं गतः ॥ [7*]
 16 स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्-परमसौगतो
 17 महाराजाधिराजः⁵ श्रीतैलोक्यचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः प-
 18 रमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् श्रीचन्द्रदेवः कुशलौ ।

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail !

(Verse 1). See above p. 6.

(Verse 2). There was one Pūrṇachandra, who was endowed with fortune, and the dust raised by his army (was resorted to without fear by the wives of his enemies thinking it to be his umbrella ?)⁶(Verse 3). From him was born the virtuous Survarṇachandra, comparable to beautiful gold (which is) by nature endowed with value, although it may not be either tested in fire or weighed on balance.⁷

(Verse 4). To (this king) whose virtuous deeds rang through the three worlds and who was timid of the world to come, was born a son Trailokyachandra, whose sight (itself) was sacred, who was of handsome appearance and by whom was consoled the living world.

(Verse 5). He who had the desire of conquering the Earth bounded by the four waters (i.e., the four seas), (but) was not greedy of wealth, extinguished the fire of his enemies in battles, by the water (i.e., juice) of his sword-creeper.⁸Verse 6.) From him who was a friend of the Good Path,⁹ was born a son, the illustrious Śrīchandradeva, who was kind-hearted in respect of merciless sacrificial slaughter (of animals),¹⁰ eloquent as regards the virtues of others,¹ Metre : Sragdharā.² Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Read -dohadarasa- ślāghāghanair =⁴ Read raneshu.⁵ Read mahārājādhiraja- śrī.⁶ See remarks above p. 11, n. 5.⁷ This verse as well as verses 4 and 5 seems to occur also in the Idilpur copper-plate of Śrīchandra.⁸ Like a physician administering a medicinal creeper to cure fever. Cf. Anulā copper-plate, verse 3.⁹ The word sad-vartman may have been here used for sad-dharma i. e., the Buddhist Path.¹⁰ 'kind (even) towards mischievous endeavours'.—Bhattachaṭṭi. But ārambha (=ālabha) has also the technical sense of sacrificial slaughter. As this is against the spirit of Buddhism and as Śrīchandra was himself a Bud-



१. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 २. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ७. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ८. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ९. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १०. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ११. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १२. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १७. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १८. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

(but) singularly dumb in the matter of slander, beautiful to look at, proportionately built and a receptacle of good qualities, in consideration of which the Creator (i.e., Brahmā) forcibly united the goddess of Fortune in spirit as well as in name¹ with him, (although he was) opposed to enjoyment of worldly pleasures.

Verse 7). The multitude of dust raised by that conqueror in battles was touched by the Elephants of the quarters who were exceedingly delighted with and had longing for, mundane dust; it was avoided by the gods (who were obliged to remain at a distance, unable to shut their eyelids²; and lending an unprecedented false appearance of whiteness (as from old age) to the hair of the nymphs it went up along the path of heaven.

(Ll. 16-18). Now from the illustrious 'camp of victory' situated in *Vikramapura*, the most devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e. Buddha), the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Śrīchandradeva, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Trailokyachandradeva being in good health—

dhist it is only natural for the poet to describe him as *krūrāmbhe dayāluḥ*. The word *ārambha* may mean 'effort', 'action', 'undertaking', etc., as well, and taken in that sense the expression may be rendered as 'kind in cruel deed.' But the first interpretation seems to be more appropriate.

¹ There seems to be here a pun on the word *śrī* forming part of the king's name.

² The gods have 'winkless eyes' as one of their characteristics—Hopkins, *Ep. Myth.*, p. 57.

III. BELĀVA COPPER-PLATE OF BHOJAVARMAN.

This copper-plate was discovered by a Muhammadan cultivator in course of digging a plot of land at the village of **Belāva** in P.S. Ruggunj. in the Naraingunj sub division of the Dacca District, and was soon afterwards purchased from him by Mr. Pramatha Nath Dutt, Assistant Settlement Officer, Dacca. It is now deposited in the Dacca Museum. A preliminary account of the inscription, which the copper-plate bears, was published in the *Dacca Review*, Vol. II, No. 4 (July, 1912)¹. It was then edited by Mr. R. G. Basak in the *Sāhitya*, 1319 B. S., pp. 382-99 by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N. S., Vol. X (1914), pp. 121-129 and plates XVIII—XX and finally by Mr. R. G. Basak again, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 37-43 and plates opposite pp. 40, 41.

This is a single plate engraved on both sides, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $10\frac{1}{4}$ ". It bears a circular seal attached to the top. In the central portion of the seal there seems to have been originally the design of a wheel inasmuch as in line 48 the seal is described as a *Vishṇu-chakra-mudrā* 'the seal bearing the design of Vishṇu's wheel'. No trace of the wheel is however perceptible, although Mr. Banerji gives a rather detailed description of it². Mr. Basak clearly says that "the impress of the sacred wheel was completely scraped off by the finder of the plate, who thought the plate was made of gold".

The writing consists of 51 lines of which 26 occur on the obverse and 25 on the reverse. It is on the whole in a good state of preservation. The majority of letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in size.

The characters represent a type of Northern Nāgarī that was current in Eastern India about the 12th century A. D., being somewhat more advanced than those of the Rāmpāl copper-plate of Śrīchandra and akin to those of the inscriptions of the Senas. Among other matters we should note the two kinds of *i*-stroke e.g. in *kavir-api* (l. 11), the two kinds of *t* in *tataḥ* (l. 4) and the initial sign for *au* in *Aurva* (ll. 41-42). — The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om siddhiḥ* in line 1 the inscription is in verse upto about the end of line 24. There is an imprecatory verse again in ll. 50-51. The rest of the document is in prose. It contains altogether 16

¹ The article contains a preface by Mr. F. D. Ascoli, a transcript by Pandit B. B. Goswami, and an English translation by Messrs. S. N. Bhadra, K. K. Sen and N. K. Bhattasali.

² *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.). Vol. X, p. 121.

verses which are composed in a variety of metres viz. Anushtubh, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Indravajrā, Mālinī and Vasantatilaka. In ll. 22-23 there occur only the first two *pādas* of a verse in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.—As regards orthography it should be noted that both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign; after a superscript *r* letters like *g*, *ṇ*, *t*, *m*, and *v* are doubled, but as a rule there is no doubling in the case of *v* there being only two exceptions viz. *Aurva* and *Yajurveda* (l. 42); a final *m* is joined with a *v* or *p* in *kim=varṇayāmy* (l. 16) and *sva-dattām=paradattām=vā* (l. 50); the stroke of *virāma* (applied to final *t*, *n*, and *m*) is fairly clear in the case of only *m* in *paṇḍitānām* (l. 11) and *sārvabhauma-śrīyam* (l. 15), but in all other cases it is doubtful whether it was at all employed by the scribe e. g. in *-ādīn* (l. 34 and *vasundharām* (l. 50); and that a special sign for final *t* occurs in *samvat* (l. 51).

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājadhīrāja* the illustrious *Bhoja* (or *Bhojavarmman* as he is called in ll. 21, 45-46 and 51), 'who meditated on the feet' of the *Mahārājadhīrāja* *Sāmalavarmmadeva* (l. 25). The record opens with *om om siddhi(h)* which is followed by a string of Paurāṇic names,¹ Svayambhū, his son Atri; Atri's son Chandramas (the Moon); the Moon's son, from his wife Rohiṇī, Budha; Budha's son, from his wife Ilā, Purūravas having three wives Kīrtti, Ūrvaśī and Bhū; Purūravas' son Āyu; Āyu's son Nahusha; Nahusha's son Yayāti; Yayāti's son Yadu; in the family of Yadu, Kṛishṇa (ll. 1-7).—The kinsmen of Hari (i.e. Kṛishṇa) were the *Varmmans* who occupied *Simhapura* (ll. 8-9). In that family flourished *Vajravarmman* (ll. 11-12). He made himself powerful in the *Aṅga* country, married *Vīraśrī* (the daughter of *Karṇa* l. 13) and crippled the power of (the king of) *Kāmārūpa*, *Divya* and *Govardhana* (l. 14). From his wife *Vīraśrī* was born *Sāmalavarmmadvea* (l. 15). His son was *Udayin* (l. 17) and his daughter, by his wife *Mālavyadevī*, was *Trailokyasundarī* (ll. 18-19). In spite of his having other wives it was she, i.e., *Mālavyadevī* who became the Chief Queen of *Sāmalavarmman* (l. 20). Their son was *Bhojavarmman* (l. 21). This document was issued by him from his 'camp of victory situated at *Vikramapura* (ll. 24-25). The grant consisted of 1 *pāṭaka* and 9¼ *droṇas* of land of the village of *Upyalikā* belonging to *Kauśāmbī-Ashtagachchhakhaṇḍala* in the *Adhaḥpattana-Maṇḍala* of the *Paundra-*

¹ Cf. some of the South-Indian inscriptions for a similar enumeration of the Yādavas e.g. Nandamapūṇḍi grant of Rājārāja I, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 304, l. 2. ff.

bhukti¹ (ll. 27-28). Lines 29-36 contain the customary list of royal officers and others connected with the grant. The donee is Rāma devaśarmman who has the title *śāntiāgārādhikṛita*, son of Viśvarūpadevaśarmman, grandson of Jagannāthadevaśarmman, great grandson of Pītāmbaradevaśarmman, originally an inhabitant of Madhyadeśa and later belonging to the village of Siddhala, in Uttara-Rādhā (ll. 43-45). He belongs to the Sāvarṇa gotra, Bhṛigu, Chyavana, Āpnuvāna, Aurvva and Jāma dagnya pravara and the Vājasaneya charaṇa, and is a student of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Yajurveda (ll. 41-43). The royal seal is mentioned in l. 48 as *Śrīmad-Vishṇuchakramudrā*. The grant is dated the 14th day of Śrāvaṇa and the 5th regnal year of Bhojavarmmadevapāda, which is followed by an abbreviated form of endorsement *ni anu Mahāksha ni* (l. 51). The author of the *praśasti* Purushottama is mentioned in l. 24.

The Varmans, who ruled over Vikramapura for only a short period came originally from Simhapura. Mr. Basak seeks to identify this place with Sīhapura 'which is mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa, VI, 35 ff., as situated in Lālaratṭha i.e., Rādhā' (*loc. cit.*, p. 37). On the other hand Prof. Sten Konow points out that "we know of princes with names ending in *Varman*, who ruled in *Simhapura*, and who were kings of Kalinga" (*Ibid.* p. 37, n. 2). It is possible that both of these Simhapuras are identical, as Kalinga might have included a portion of Rādhā. Simhapura of Kalinga was the seat of certain Varman kings like Chaṇdravarman and Umāvarman of whom the Komarti and Brihatproshthā copper plates have been published by Prof. Hultsch.² It is also known from some of the Ceylonese inscriptions published by Mr. E. Müller and from the continuation of the Mahāvaṃsa.³ The identification of Simhapura is not certain. According to some it may be the same as modern Singupuram between Chicaole and Narasannapeta.⁴ This record proves that a dynasty, who had Varman as their title and were of Yādava lineage, ruled over Simhapura. Another inscription, to which Mr. R. D. Banerji⁵ draws our attention, bears testimony to the same fact. This is the Lakkhamāṇḍal inscription⁶ from the Jaunsar Bawar district on the Upper Jumna, which records the dedication of a Śiva temple by Íśvarā, wife of a king of Jalandhara in the Punjab. She is described as having descended from a line of Yādava kings of Singhapura. From a list of twelve kings

¹ Evidently the same as Paundravardhanabhukti. For this abbreviated form of the name see also the Rāmpāl copper-plate, above p. 2.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 142 ff and *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 4 ff.

³ See Hultsch, *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 518 and p. 520, n. 1, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 4.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 143.

⁵ *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. X, pp. 123-24.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 10 ff.

[illegible]

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of this dynasty given in the inscription it appears that all of their names ended in 'Varman'.¹ Bühler thinks it very probable that the ancestors of Īśvarā, queen of the Jālandhara prince, ruled over a district that lay also in the Punjab and he identifies Simhapura with Sang-ho pu-lo described by Hiuen Tsang. But it should be noted that there is nothing in the epigraph itself which supports this conclusion, or makes it in any way necessary¹.

Jātavarman who married Vīraśrī (daughter of Karṇa, evidently no other than the Chedi king of that name, son of Gāṅgeyadeva), must have been a contemporary of Vighrahapāla III of the Pāla dynasty. For Yauvanaśrī, a daughter of Karṇa, was married by Vighrahapāla III according to the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandī. Therefore Jātavarman's son Sāmālavarmman was a contemporary of Rāmapāla, son of Vighrahapāla III and Sāmālavarmman's son Bhojavarmman as well as Rāmapāla's sons, Kumārapāla and Madanapāla were contemporaries of each other. This synchronism is important for settling the date of the Varmans as well as that of the later Pālas. The latest known date of Gāṅgeyadeva is 1037 A. D.⁴ and that of his son Karṇa, 1073 A. D.⁵. The latter's son-in-law Jātavarman and Vighrahapāla III must have therefore reigned within this period. The reign of Jātavarman's grandson Bhojavarmman therefore has to be necessarily placed about the close of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century A. D.

Among other personal names Divya has been identified with Divya or Divvoka, the Kaivartta leader of North Bengal mentioned in the *Rāmacharita*.⁶ Verses 10-12 of the record referring to the son, daughter and wives of Sāmālavarmman have not yet been properly understood. In verse 9 he is described as being born from Vīraśrī. The following verse (i.e., verse 10) which begins with *tasya*=*odayī sūnūr*=*abhūt* etc. cannot but be taken as related to his son Udayin. It should be, however, noted that according to Mr. N.N. Vasu⁷ and Mr. R. D. Banerji⁸ *tasya* is here a mistake for *tathā*, and *Udayī* and *sūnuh* are to be taken as members of a compound *Udayī-sūnuh*, i.e., 'son of Udayin'. Again in verse 11 (*tasya Mālavya-devy*=*āsī kanyā Trailokyasundarī jagadvijayamallasya vajantī Manobhuvah*), *jagadvijayamallasya* and *tasya* are taken as referring to the son of Udayin, Jagadivijayamalla by name. Thus one

¹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

² Even Kielhorn writes, "Yadus, according to the Lakkha Maṇḍal Praśasti, were long ruling in part of the Punjab" - *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 246.

³ Cf. Banerji, *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. X, p. 123 and *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 88; and Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 207.

⁵ Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 113.

⁶ Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

⁷ *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXII, p. 748.

⁸ *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. X, p. 125.

Jagadvijayamalla was Mālavadevī's father and father-in-law of Sāmalavarman. Since however the inscription has undoubtedly the form *udayī* (Nominative singular of *Udayin*) and not *Udayi* which should have been the proper form in a compound, and further as the long *ī* cannot be taken as a mistake of the scribe for short *i* the former being required by the metre, it is impossible to hold that *Udayī-sūnuḥ* is to be looked upon as a compound. Hence the aforesaid theory cannot be accepted. I should also note that the latest translation of the verses in question by Mr. R. G. Basak¹ is likewise not free from confusion. He does not, however, substitute *tathā* for *tasya* in verse 10, nor does he take *Udayin* and *sūnuḥ* as members of a Tatpurusha compound. His translation is as follows: (v. 10) "He had a son Udayin who saw only his own face reflected in front in his own sword, in battle fields which were full of many an irresistible hero". (v. 11) "He had a daughter, Mālavadevī, the most beautiful lady in the three worlds, who was (as it were) the banner of the god of love (lit. the mind-born one, the great wrestler in the conquest of the world". -(v.12) "It was this lady who became the chief queen of Sāmalavarman, though his harem was full of the daughters of numerous kings". In this translation 'he' in v. 10 refers, of course, to Sāmalavarman, who and no other male person is described in v. 9. Thus Udayin was his son. Again 'he' in v. 11 must denote either Sāmalavarman or Udayin; and Mālavadevī would in that case be either daughter or grand daughter of Sāmalavarman. In v. 12 'this lady' most certainly means Mālavadevī. How therefore she can be described as the wife of Sāmalavarman one fails to imagine. Thus Mr. Basak's translation leads to inconsistency². My translation does not agree with either of those stated above, with the only exception that I agree with Mr. Basak in taking *Udayī* and *sūnuḥ* as separate words. In verse 11 I take Trailokyasundarī as the name of Sāmalavarman's daughter through his wife Mālavadevī (*Mālavadevyā*). The name Trailokyasundarī is by no means uncommon. One of the queens of Vijayabāhu I of Ceylon. (A.D. 1054-1109) was a princess of Kalinga named Tilokasundarī,³ i.e., Trilokasundarī. The inscription mentions (in verse 12) that Sāmalavarman had other wives besides Mālavadevī. The mother of Udayin whose name does not occur in it might have been one of them. The term *jagadvijayamalla*, i.e., 'the hero who has conquered the (whole) world' is a most appropriate epithet of Manobhū, i.e., 'the god of Love' for whom we have

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 42.

² On p. 38 of his article Mr. Basak says that the last line of v. 9 (which mentions Sāmalavarman) 'seems to mention another person, the poet's master (*prabhu*)' and Udayin was his son.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 520.

such epithets as Trailokyavīra (e.g. Naihati copper-plate l. 4 used in literature. As regards Purushottama, the composer of the *Prasāsa* there is no means for his identification¹.

In respect of place names I should note that Kauśāmbī (l. 2) has been identified with Kusumba in Rajshahi district, by Mr. R. D. Banerji who also thinks that it is the same as Kauśāmbī mentioned in the *Rāmacharita*². Siddha'a, the village in Uttara Rādhā of which the donee's great grand-father was an inhabitant, is described in the Bhuvaneśvara temple inscription of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa as 'an ornament, (*alamkāra*) of the goddess of Fortune of Rādhā (*Rādhāśrīya*)' and was the chief (*sarva-āgrima*) among all the places in Āryāvarta where Brāhmaṇas of the Savarna *gotra* flourished³. It is interesting to note that the present donee Rāmadevaśarma belongs also to the same *gotra*.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ओ⁴ ओ सिद्धि (:) ॥ ⁵स्वायम्भुवमिहापत्यं मुनिरति[दि]वौकसां । तस्य यन्नायनं तेजस्तेनाजा-
- 2 यत चन्द्रमाः ॥[1*] ⁶रौहिणेयो बुधस्तस्मादस्मादेक्षपुरुषाः (1*) जज्ञे स्वयंव्रतः की[र्त्या]
- 3 चोर्व्वश्या च भुवा च यः ॥[2*] ⁷सोप्यायुं समजीजनन्मनुसमो राजस्ततो जज्ञिवान् क्ष्मा-
- 4 पालो नहुषस्तोजनि महाराजो ययातिः सुतम् [1*]सोपि प्राप यदुं ततः क्षिति[भु]-
- 5 -जां वंशोयमु[ज्जृ]भते वीर्य्यीश्व हरिश्च यत्र बह्वशः⁸ प्रत्यक्षमेवैक्षत ॥[3*] ⁹सोपी[ह]
- 6 गोपीशतकेलिकारः कृष्णो महाभारतसूत्रधारः [1*] अर्घः¹⁰ पुमानंशकृतावता-
- 7 -रः प्रादुर्बभूवोद्धृतभूमि-भारः ॥[4*] ¹¹पुंसामावरणं त्रयी न च तया हीना न नग्ना इति
- 8 त्रयां चाद्भुतसङ्करेषु च व(र)साद्रोमोद्गमैर्व्वर्ष्मिणः [1*] वर्ष्माणोतिगभीर-नाम दधतः
- 9 स्नाय्वी भुजौ विभ्रतो भेजुः सिंहपुरं गुहामिव मृगेन्द्राणां हरेर्बान्धवाः ॥[5*] [5*]
- 10 ¹²अभवदथ कदाचिद्यादवीनां चमूनां समरविजययात्रामङ्गलं वज्रवर्ष्मा [1*] शम-
- 11 न इव रिपूणां सोमवद्वान्धवानां कविरपि च कवीनां पण्डितः [प]ण्डितानाम् ॥ [6*] ¹³जा-

¹ See however Banerji, *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. X, p. 126.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 205, verse 3.

³ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁴ Read *bakusāh*.

⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁶ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁷ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁸ Metre: Mālinī.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 125.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹² Read *arghya*.

¹³ Metre: Anushtubh.

- 12 तवर्मा ततो जातो गाङ्गेय इव शान्तनीः दया व्रतं रणः] क्रीडा] [त्या]गो यस्य महो-
 13 त्सवः ॥[7*] ¹गङ्गान्वैय्यपुयुय्यं परिणयन् कर्म्मस्य वीरश्रियं योङ्गेषु प्रथय[च्छ्रियं
 परिभवं-
 14 स्तां कामरूपश्रियम् [1*] निन्दन्दिव्यभुजश्रियं विकलयन्-गोवर्द्धनस्य [श्रियं
 कुर्वन् श्रित्वि-
 15 साच्छ्रियं विततवान्-स्त्रां सादृशमश्रियम् ॥[8*] ²श्रीरश्रियामजनि सामलवर्म्मदेवः
 16 श्रीमाञ्जगतप्रथममङ्गलनामधेयः [1*] किम्बर्षयास्यखिलभृगुगुणोपपन्नो दीपे-
 17 [र्म्म]नागपि पदं न कृतः प्रभुर्म्म ॥ [9*] ³तस्योदयो सूरभूत् प्रभूतदुर्वारवीरैष्वपि सङ्ग-
 18 रेषु [1*] यश्चन्द्रहा(स)मिनिखितं स्वमेकं मुखं सस्मखमीक्षते स्म ॥[10*] ⁴तस्य
 मालव्यदेव्या-
 19 सोत्कन्या चैलोक्यसुन्दरो जगद्विजयमल्लस्य वैजयन्तो मनोभुवः ॥[11*] ⁵पूर्वस्यशे-
 20 षभूपालपुत्रीणामवरोधने । तस्यासौदग्रमहिषी सैव सामलवर्म्मणः ॥[12*] ⁶आसी-
 21 त्तयोः सूरुरिहानुरूपः ⁷श्रीभोजवर्म्मभिषयवंश[दी]पः [1] पात्रेषु सर्वासु दशासु ये-
 22 न स्नेहो न लुप्तश्च हतं तमश्च ॥[13*] ⁸हा धिक् (क)ष्टमवीरमद्य भुवनं भूयोपि
 कं (किं) रक्षसा-
 23 सुत्पातोयसु(प)स्थितोस्तु कुशली शङ्कासु लङ्काधिपः ॥[14*] ⁹इति यं गुणगाथाभिस्तुष्टा-
 24 -व पुरु(क)षोत्तमः [1*] मज्जयन्निव वाग्ब्रह्ममयानन्द-महोदधौ ॥[15*] स खलु
 श्रीविक्रमपु-
 25 रसमावासित-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् ¹⁰माहाराजाधिराजश्रीसामलवर्म्मदेवपा-
 26 दानुध्यात-परमवैष्णव-परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमहोज(ः)

Reverse.

- 27 श्रीपौण्ड्रभुक्त्यन्तःपाति अधःपत्तनमगुले कौशाम्बी-अष्टगच्छ-ख
 28 गडलसं(वद्ध)-उप्यलिकायानि गुवाकादिसमेत-सपादनवद्रोणाधि-
 29 कपाटकभूमी समुपगताशेषराजराजन्यकराज्ञोराणकरा-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikīṭita.

⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Mr. Banerji reads *ih=ānurūpak* and Mr. Basak *ih=ānta[am ?] yab*.

⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikīṭita.

² Metre : Vasantatilaka.

⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

³ Metre : Indravajrā.

⁶ Metre : Indravajrā.

¹⁰ Read *mahārāja*.

- 30 जपुत्रराजामात्यपुरोहित-पीठिकावित्त-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्धिवि-
 31 ग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महासुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्गबृहदुपनि-महाक्षप-
 32 टलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाभोगिक-महाव्यूहपति-महापौलुपति-महाग-
 33 ण्य-दौस्साधिक-चौरोद्वरणिक-नीचलक्ष्यश्वगोमहिषाज्रात्रिकादि-
 34 व्याघ्रतक-गौल्लिक-दण्डप्राशिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपत्यादीन् अन्यांश्च सक-
 35 -लराजपादोपजीविनो ध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तान् इच्छाक्रीर्त्तितान् चट्ट भट्टजाती-
 36 यान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकण्ठ्य ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हमानयति
 37 बोधयति समादिशति च सततमस्तु भ(व)ताम् । यथोपरिलिखिता भूमिरियम् स्व-
 38 सीमावच्छिन्ना दण्डपूर्तिगोचरपयन्ता सतता सोद्देशा साम्प्रपनसा स-
 39 श्वाकनालिकेरा सलवणा सजलस्थ(ला) सगर्तीपरा सङ्घाशपराधा परि-
 40 हृतसर्वपीडा अचाङ्गभङ्गप्रवेशा अकिञ्चित्-प्रशङ्गा समस्तराजभोग-क-
 41 रहिरण्यप्रत्यायसहिता सावर्ष्यसंगोत्राय भृगु-च्यवन आप्रवान-श्री
 42 र्व्य-जमदग्निप्रवराय वाजसनेयचरणाय यजुर्वेदकखशाखाध्यायि-
 43 ने मध्यदेशविनिर्गत(स्य) उत्तरर/ढायां सिङ्गलग्रामीय-पौताम्बरदेव
 44 शर्म्माणः प्रपौत्राय जगन्नाथदेवशर्म्माणः पौत्राय विश्वरूपदेवशर्म्मा-
 45 णः पुत्राय शान्त्यागाराधिकृतश्रीरामदेवशर्म्माणे । श्रीमता भोज-
 46 वर्मदेवेन । पुण्ये अहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं कृत्वा भगवन्तं वासुदेवभ-
 47 द्धारकमुद्दिश्य मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभितद्वये आचन्द्रार्कक्षि-
 48 तिसमकालं यावत् भु[भू]मिच्छिद्रन्यायेन श्रीमद्विष्णुचक्रमुद्रया ताम्रशा-
 49 सनीकृत्य प्रदत्तास्माभिः ॥ भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥
 50 ¹स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुधराम् स विहायां क्रि(क्त)मिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह प-
 51 च्यते ॥[16*] श्रीमद्भोजवर्मदेवप्रादीयसम्बत् ५ श्रावणादिने १४ [1*]
 नि अनु महाक्ष नि [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Om ! Success !

(Verse 1). In this world the divine seer Atri was the offspring of Svayambhū (Brahmā). The Moon was born from the fire (generated) in his eyes.

(Verse 2). From him was born Budha, son of Rohiṇī and from this,

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

Purūravas, son of Ilā, who was chosen (as the husband) by Kīrti, Ūrvaśī and Bhū.

(Verse 3). He again, like Manu, procreated Āyu; from that king was born the lord of the Earth Nahusha, and a son, the Mahārāja Yayāti sprang from him. He also got Yadu from whom has emanated this line of kings in which Viraśrī¹ and Hari were seen many times as if in actual manifestation.

(Verse 4). He (i.e., Hari)² again, in this world, appeared as Kṛishṇa, who sported with one hundred milk-maids as the leading figure of the Māhābharata, who was a worshipful being, a partial incarnation, and the uplifter of the burden of the Earth.

(Verse 5). The relatives of Hari who were the **Varmmans**, considering that 'the three Vedas cover the nakedness of men and (we) are neither devoid, of it nor are we naked'³—made themselves protected as it were by mail (*varman*), inasmuch as their hairs stood on end on account of their zeal for the three Vedas and remarkable fighting and having assumed a highly solemn title and possessing a pair of remarkable arms, dominated over **Sinhapura**, which was like 'a cave of lions.'

(Verse 6). Once there was a person named **Vajravarmman**, who was the welfare (itself) of the victorious war expedition of the Yādava armies, who was the god of Death to his enemies, the Moon as it were to his friends, a poet among poets and scholar among scholars.

(Verse 7). From him was born **Jātavarman**, just like Gāṅgeya (i.e., Bhīshma) from Śāntanu, to whom kindness was religion, battle—a sport, and charity—a great festivity.

(Verse 8). He spread his paramount sovereignty, by eclipsing (even) the glory of Prithu,⁴ son of **Veṇa**, marrying **Viraśrī** (daughter) of **Karṇa**, by extending his domination over the **Āṅgas**, by humiliating the dignity of **Kāmarūpa**, by bringing to disgrace the strength of the arms of **Divya**, by damaging the fortune of **Govarddhana** and by vesting wealth in Brahman⁵ versed in the Vedas⁵.

(Verse 9). The illustrious **Sāmalavarmmadeva** whose name, in this world,

¹ I donot think there is here any veiled reference to Viraśrī, wife of Jātavarman (v. 8). The verse seems to indicate that Vishnu and Lakshmi were reincarnate in the Yādava family as Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. The manifestation of Vishnu as Kṛishṇa is mentioned in the next verse (v. 4).

² I donot think there can be here an allusion to Harivarman as Mr. Banerji supposes (*loc. cit.*, p. 126).

³ Regarding the technical meaning of *nagna* ('naked') as those who disregard the Vedas see Mr. Basak's remarks *loc. cit.*, p. 41, n. 5.

⁴ Probably it indicates that just as Prithu was made the first king (*Harivamśa*, Ch. V, verses 30-31) so also Jātavarman was the first king of the dynasty.

⁵ In this verse the word *śrī* is used six times in six different senses.

is the first among those that bring on welfare, was born of Vīraśrī—how (else) shall I describe (him)?—“my master was endowed with all the virtues of a king, bad qualities did not, even to the slightest extent, find shelter in him.”

(Verse 10). His (i.e., Sāmalavarmman's) son was Udayin who even in battlefields that were full of many irresistible heroes, would see only one face, namely his own, reflected, in front of him, on his scimitar.

(Verse 11). (And) his (i.e. Sāmalvarmman's) daughter, was Trailokyasundarī through (his wife), Mālavvyadevī¹, who was as it were the banner of the Mind-born one (i.e., the god of Love), the hero in the conquest of the whole world.

(Verse 12). It was she (i.e., Mālavvyadevī) who became the Chief Queen of Sāmalavarmman, although his seraglio was full of the daughters of many kings.

(Verse 13). Their son in this world was Bhojavarmman, who resembled them and was the very lamp that illumined both the families (i.e., paternal and maternal), and who, in all circumstances, was not wanting in affection towards those that deserved it, and dispelled their sorrow².

(Verse 14). ‘O, Alas! has the world become to-day destitute of heroes? Has the calamity from the Rākshasas re-appeared? May the lord of Lankā (i.e. Rāvaṇa) fare well in these troubles?’³—

(Verse 15). By such eulogistic verses Purushottama extolled him, making him plunge into the great ocean, namely that of bliss, emanating from Brahman who is the same as speech.

(Ll. 24-37). Now, from the illustrious ‘camp of victory’ situated at Vikramapura, the devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Bhoja, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja Sāmalavarmmadeva*, duly honours, informs and commands all those that are present, namely, the *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, the queen, the *Rānakas*, the *Rājaputras*, the prime-minister, the priest, the *Pīthikāvitta*, *Mahātharmādhyaksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅga-bṛihaduparika*, *Mahākshapatalika*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahābhogika*, *Mahāvṛyūhapati*, *Mahāpīlupati*, *Mahāgaṇastha*, *Daussādhika*, *Chauroddhara*—

¹ I take *Mālavyadevy* = *āsīt* as *Mālavvyadevyā āsīt* and not as *Mālavvyadevī āsīt* as others take it.

² According to Mr. Basak there is here a play on the words *pātra* (‘pot’ and ‘deserving person’) *daśā* (‘circumstances’ and ‘wick’) *sneha* (‘oil’ and ‘affection’), and *tamaḥ* (‘darkness’ and ‘sorrow’).

³ Mr. Basak's translation is: “Alack-a-day! Has the earth to-day again become devoid of heroes; this calamity with the *Rākshasas* has arisen, let him remain prosperous during the dangerous times as overlord of Lankā.” This is a most obscure passage. Cf. Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 42, n. 3; also *ibid.*, p. 38.

nika and officers in charge of the fleet, infantry, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., the *Gaulmikas*, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, *Vishayapaśis* and others as well as all those that are dependant on the king, mentioned in the list of officers but not specified here, those of the class of *Chat'as* and *Bhattas*, the provincial people, the cultivators, the Brāhmaṇas and the chief among Brāhmaṇas,—

(Ll. 27-29). in respect of 1 *pātaka* and $9\frac{1}{4}$ *dronas* of land including betel-nut trees etc. in the village of *Upyalikā* belonging to the *Kauśāmbi-Ashtagachchha-Khaṇḍala*, in the *Adhaḥpattana-maṇḍala* of the *Paundra-bhukti* :

(Ll. 37-41). Be it known to you that this plot of land as described above, circumscribed within its own boundaries, including grass, *pūti* plant, and pasture, with bottom and surface, with mango and jackfruit trees, with betel-nut and cocoanut trees, with salt, with land and water, with pits and barren tracts, with toleration of Ten sins, exempt from all kinds of forced labour, not to be entered by *Chāḍas* and *Bhaḍas*, exempt from all dues, with all the income including taxes and gold enjoyed by the king -

(Ll. 41-49) has been made over by Us namely, the illustrious *Bhojavarmmadeva*, by means of a copper-plate charter and affixing the illustrious 'seal of Vishnu's wheel,' in the name of lord *Vāsudevabhattachāraka*, on this auspicious day, after having duly touched the water according to the principle of *Bhūmi-chchhidra*, for as long as the Sun and Moon (exist) and the Earth endures, for the increase of merit and fame of myself and my parents,

(Ll. 41-45) to *Rāmadevaśarman*, officer in charge of the room where propitiatory ceremonies are held, son of *Viśvarūpadevaśarman*, grandson of *Jagan-nāthadevaśarmman* and great grandson of *Pitāmbaradevaśarmman* who was an immigrant from *Madhyadeśa* and later on settled in the village of *Siddhala* in *Uttara-Rādhā*, belonging to the *Sāvarṇa gotra*, *Bhṛigu*, *Chyavana*, *Āpnuvāna*, *Aurvva* and *Jamadagni pravaras*, and the *Vājasaneyacharana*, and a student of the *Kāṇva-śākhā* of the *Yajurveda*.

(L. 49). There are also in this matter verses¹ in praise of Dharma :

(Verse 16). He who takes away land either given by himself or by others, rots with his ancestors as a worm in dirt.

(L. 51). The 5th year of the illustrious *Bhojavarmmadeva*, the 14th day of *Śrāvaṇa*—(Approved. Approved after this by the *Mahākshapaṭalika*.)

¹ There follows however one verse only.

IV. BHUVANEŚVAR INSCRIPTION OF BHATTA-BHAVADEVĀ:

This inscription was originally fixed on the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvar in Purī District, Orissa. In 1810 it was taken out along with another inscription, which belongs to the reign of Aniyāṅkabhīma, by General Stewart and brought over to the Museum of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. This was looked upon as a great sacrilege by the priests of Bhuvaneśvar; and in 1837 when Major Kittoe visited the place they made a representation to him and the Major arranged with the Asiatic Society for the restitution of the inscribed stones¹. These were accordingly sent back that very year, but instead of being replaced in their original positions, they were fixed on the western wall of the temple courtyard² where they may be seen to-day.

The inscription was first published in 1837 by James Prinsep, along with a translation by Captain G. T. Marshall, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, pp. 88-97. This text and translation were subsequently reproduced by Rajendra Lal Mitra in 1880, in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 85-87. The inscription was critically edited some twenty years later by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-207, from a set of ink impressions furnished by the Archaeological Survey of India. But no critical translation or mechanical reproduction³ of the record has yet been published. These are now supplied for the first time. The present edition is based on two estampages, one kindly lent to me by Rai Saheb Monoranjan Ghosh, Curator of the Patna Museum and the other belonging to the collection of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society.

The inscription is engraved on a slab of stone, and consists of 25 lines covering a space of 3' by 1' 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The work is neatly and carefully done. Excepting a few letters in line 24 which are hopelessly effaced, the record is in an excellent state of preservation. The letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height.

The characters are of a Northern Nāgarī type and contain the 'proto-Bengali' forms that occur in the 11th and 12th century inscriptions of North-Eastern India. A general feature of the letters is the hollow triangular

¹ Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI (1837), pp. 278-80.

² Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 85.

³ An eye-copy of only the first line of the inscription was reproduced by Prinsep in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, pl. VII. Monmohan Chakravarti published a photograph of the inscription of Aniyāṅkabhīma in *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. VIII (1912), Pl. XIX and wrongly described it as the inscription of Bhavadeva (*ibid.*, p. 338 and p. 342, n. 3).

wedges appearing as part of the top-strokes, *e. g.*, in *pārijāta*, l. 20 and *tāpana*, l. 4. For the same feature cf. also the Māndā inscription of Gopāla III in Banerji's *Pālas of Bengal*, Pl. XXX, the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 347 ff and Kielhorn's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 181, n. 6. Kielhorn refers the present inscription to about 1200 A.D., as according to him its characters are similar to those of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Aniyaṅkabhīma (cir. 1192 A. D.)¹. But the occurrence of comparatively advanced forms of some letters, such for instance as *ḍ*, *ṇḍ*, *h*, in the latter shows that the present inscription belongs to an earlier date. Palæographically, it bears marked resemblance, to the Belāva copper-plate. A comparison of such test-letters as *kh*, *g*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *t*, *s'* and *h*, occurring in this record and the Deopārā inscription tends to show that the former belongs to an earlier epoch. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji its characters are even older than those of the Bihār inscriptions of Rāmapāla who flourished towards the last quarter of the 11th century A.D.²

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and almost entirely in verse, excepting the introductory *om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* in line 1, probably a few words at the end of line 24 and the mention in line 25 that the record is a *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva. It contains thirty-three verses which are composed in a variety of metres, viz. Vasantatilaka, Śārdūla-vikrīḍita, Āryā, Sloka, Upajāti, Śikharinī, Varnasāstha, Sragdharā, Mandākrāntā, Mālinī and Praharshinī. A rather clever use of puns characterises most of these verses. As Professor Kielhorn observes, 'for a *praśasti*, the style generally is simple and unpretending.' The poet, however, often shows a predilection for certain words and ideas which he repeats in different forms. Thus words denoting 'earth' occur no less than 18 times and of these as many as three are used in v. 27 alone; a phrase *adbhuta-srashtā*, literally 'creator of wonder' is employed in v. 20 and the same with a little modification as *adbhuta-prasavitā* in v. 21; the word *dhāman* is used once in v. 31, twice in v. 32 and once again in v. 33; at least three persons are compared to the god Viṣṇu in vv. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and to some extent in v. 18; and in v. 28 even a temple is likened to him³. But on the whole the composition is well-worded, properly balanced and does credit to the author.—As regards orthography it should be noted that both *v* and *b*

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 198ff and plate.

² *Bāṅglā Itihās*, pp. 303-4; for the approximate date of Rāmapāla see R. C. Majumdar, *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. XVII (1921), p. 6.

³ This occurs also in another Bhuvaneśvar inscription.—Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 152, v. 22.

are represented by the same sign ; often a final *m* is conjoined with a following *p* or *v*, e. g., in *chakram-pāda*, l. 10 and *kshamām-vibhrāṇasya*, l. 11 ; sometimes an *anusvāra* is used instead of final *m* at the end of a verse, e. g. *Achyut-opamaṁ*, l. 7 ; and that the dental nasal takes the place of *anusvāra* in *Mīmāṃsā*, l. 16 and l. 17, *taṁāṁsi*, l. 16 and *līlāvataṁs-*, l. 19.

The inscription purports to give an eulogistic account (*praśasti*) of the family of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva (v. 2), and of Bhavadeva himself (l. 25). It begins with obeisance to god Vāsudeva (l. 1) and two invocatory stanzas, one in honour of god Hari (v. 1) and the other in the form of a prayer to the goddess of Speech (Vāgdevatā) so that the poet may be successful in his description of the family of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva (v. 2). In Rāḍhā, in the country of Āryāvarta, there was a village called Siddhala where lived Brāhmaṇas who were the descendants of the sage Sāvārṇṇa (v. 3). One of them was Bhavadeva (v. 5) who had an elder brother named Aṭṭahāsa (v. 6). He received (the village of) Hastinībhitta as a grant from the king of Gauḍa and had eight sons the eldest among whom was Rathāṅga (v. 7). From Rathāṅga was born Atyaṅga having another name Sphurita, and his son was Budha (v. 8). From Budha was born Ādideva (v. 9) who was the minister of peace and war to the king of Vaṅga (v. 10). His son Govarddhana was born of his wife Devakī and he married a lady Sarasvatī by name (v. 11). Govarddhana had also another wife Sāṅgokā who was the daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa (v. 13). Her son was Bhavadeva (v. 14) who for a long time served under king Harivarmmadeva as his minister of peace and war (v. 16). The latter had the title Parameśa ('paramount king', v. 18), and after him the kingdom appears to have passed to his son (v. 16), whose name is not mentioned in the inscription. Bhavadeva II, who is the hero of this *praśasti*, was prominent among the exponents of the Brahmādvaita system of philosophy and conversant with the writings of Bhaṭṭa (*i. e.* Kumārila) ; he was an antagonist of the Buddhists and refuted the opinions of heretic dialecticians (v. 20). He was proficient in *Siddhānta*, *Tantra* and *Gaṇita*, and had special keenness for Astrological Sciences (*Phalasaṁhitās*). He himself composed a book on Horoscopy (*Horāśāstra*) and was thus a second Varāha (v. 21). He wrote a treatise on Smṛiti as well and superseded the texts that were already in the field (v. 22). Following Bhaṭṭa he also wrote a guide to Mīmāṃsā philosophy. He was well-versed in other subjects also such as *Arthaśāstra*, *Āyurvveda*, *Astraveda* and so forth (v. 23). He had another name Bālaavalabhī-bhujaṅga

(v. 24). He excavated a tank on the waterless outskirts of a village¹ in (the province of) Rāḍhā (v. 26). He installed a stone image of Nārāyaṇa (v. 27) and built a temple² (v. 28). In the temple were placed the images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha (v. 29) and a hundred damsels were engaged in the service of the god (v. 30). In front of the temple he excavated a tank (v. 31) and outside the temple laid out a garden (v. 32). This eulogy of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva Bālavālabhī-bhujāṅga (l. 25) is the composition of his friend Vāchaspati, a Brāhmaṇa (v. 33).

About the *praśasti* of Bhavadeva, Professor Kielhorn observes: "its interest lies in the fact that it treats, not of kings and princes, but of a scholar". Researches carried on during the last quarter of a century have, however, made it possible to study the inscription also from other points of view which are equally interesting. In v. 9 it is stated that Bhavadeva's grand-father Ādideva served as minister under a king of Vaṅga and v. 16 says that Bhavadeva was a minister of Harivarṃmadeva. The name of the king of Vaṅga is not mentioned and it is not possible to determine who he was. Of a Harivarṃmadeva, king of East Bengal one copper-plate is known. It was issued from Vikramapura and mentions that the *Parama-Vaiṣṇava*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* Harivarṃmadeva was the son and successor of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jyotirvarṃmadeva. A Ms. of the *Ashtasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* from Nepal, deposited in the Varendra Research Society is stated in its colophon as having been copied in the 19th regnal year of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhṭṭāraka* Harivarṃmadeva. Another Ms. from Nepal, which is of *Laghukīlāchakraṭīkā* and is now kept in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was copied in the 39th regnal year of king Harivarṃmadeva³. Scholars have concluded that king Harivarṃmadeva, whose minister Bhavadeva was, is the same Harivarṃman who is mentioned in the copper-plate and the colophons of Mss. The Bhuvaneśvar inscription says that he reigned for a long time (*suchiram*), and this is confirmed by the colophon of the second Ms. from which it clearly follows that he ruled for at least 39 years.

Further references to Harivarṃman are not known. But Mr. Banerji thinks that there is a veiled allusion to him in v. 3 of the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarṃman, which says that 'Hari was born several times in the Yādava

¹ The name of the village is not mentioned. It was evidently Siddhala, the home of Bhavadeva.

² It is to be noted that the site where the edifice was erected is not mentioned in the epigraph.

³ See *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 97-98; *Bāṅglār Itihās* (2nd ed.), pp. 302-304; Sāstri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Buddh. San. Mss.*, Vol. I (1917), p. 79.

dynasty.¹ He considers that Harivarmman flourished earlier than Bhojavarmman and earlier than also Rāmapāla.² In this connection attention may be drawn to the 15th verse of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription which is as follows :

लक्ष्मीं दक्षिणदोष्णि मन्त्रविभवे विश्वम्भरामण्डलं
जिह्वाये च सरस्वतीं रिपुतनौ नागान्तकं पत्त्रिणं ।
चक्रं पादतले निवेशितवता दिव्यं तदाद्यं वपुः
निज्जोतुं निजचिह्नमेतदमुना नूनम्बिपर्यासितम् ॥

In this verse the words *Lakshmī*, *viśvambharāmaṇḍala*, *Sarasvatī*, *nāgāntaka* *pattrin* and *chakra* have double application inasmuch as they refer both to Vishṇu and Bhavadeva. Thus *Lakshmī* means both 'consort of Vishṇu' and 'wealth'; *viśvambharā*, both 'the earth' and 'kingdom', *Sarasvatī*, both the 'goddess of speech' and 'learning'; and *chakra*, 'the discus' as well as 'the circular mark' on the soles of feet. Now what could be the two meanings of 'nāgāntakapattrin'? In the case of Vishṇu it, of course, means the bird (*pattrin*) who is 'the exterminator of serpents (*nāgas*),' i. e., Garuḍa, the carrier of Vishṇu. When, it refers to Bhavadeva the word *pattrin* can only mean 'the arrow'. And 'the arrow' could be described as *Nāgāntaka* if we take *Nāga* to mean the *Nāgavamśī* kings who during 11th century A.D. occupied the present Bastar state in the Central Provinces. They are known from a number of inscriptions³ and seem to be referred to in the *Rāmācharita*. Towards the end of Ch. III of the *Rāmācharita*, Sandhyākara Nandī describes the conquest of Kalinga and Utkala by Rāmapāla. That Rāmapāla advanced upto the sea-coast of Orissa is evident from v. 42 :

स विशालशैलमालि तालीवद्धमम्बुधिं साक्षात् ।
अपि पूर्त्तं पुष्करिणीभूतं रचयाम्बभूव भूपालः ॥

The 'Nāgas' are mentioned in the next verse the text of which unfortunately is corrupt :

तुङ्गमहाभोगालिर्धरालधिमभाक् महावलखायः (स्थानः) ।
तेन व्यधाय्य(जा)नागा नाकस्याहेलया भरभृत् ॥ (१)

The next verse, i. e., v. 44 says that Rāmapāla was propitiated by a Varmman king of the East for the latter's own safety and presented by him with an elephant and his own chariot. Finally, in v. 45 it is stated that

¹ Cf. above p. 22, n. 2 where I have stated that 'Hari' in the verse in question need not be taken as Harivarmman. But on further consideration I think that Mr. Banerji's assumption may be right.

² *Bāṅglār Itihās* (2nd ed.), pp. 303-4.

³ Hiralal, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 161-64; also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 25 et seq. The kings are called *Nāgavamśodbhava* in their inscriptions.

Rāmapāla favoured (or reinstated) the vanquished (*jita*) king of Utkala (*Utkalatra*) who possessed the territory of a *Bhavabhūṣaṇa-santati* :

सपरित्राणनिमित्तं पत्या यः प्राग्दिशीयेन ।

वरवारणेन च निजस्यन्दनदानेन वर्ध्मणाराधे ॥

भवभूषणसन्ततिभुवमनुजग्राह जितसुत्कलत्रं यः ।

जगदवति स्र समस्तं कलिङ्गतस्तान् निशाचरान् निघ्नन् ॥

The expression *Bhavabhūṣaṇa-santati*, literally 'offspring of Śiva's ornament' has been taken by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī and Mr. R. D. Banerji in the sense of 'the Nāgavarmśī dynasty'.¹ The reference in the *Rāmacharita* to the Nāgas and a Varmman king of the East who was humbled by Rāmapāla, throws light on this inscription in which Bhavadeva's 'arrow' is described as *nāgāntaka*, i. e. 'exterminator of the Nāgas'. It would seem that Rāmapāla encountered somewhere in Orissa Harivarmman of Bengal or his son and that the latter had overthrown the Nāga king and made himself master of Utkala. Harivarmman's minister Bhavadeva must have erected the temple after the death of his master, as v. 16 clearly speaks of his son as having come to the throne. The name of the son is, however, not mentioned. Possibly it was during the reign of this Varmman king that Rāmapāla led an army into Orissa and was successful in defeating him. At the time when the temple was erected Harivarmman's son had probably lost all political importance, so much so that it was not worth while even for a panegyrist to mention his name.

Bhavadeva, according to his *prāśasti*, must have been a remarkable person.² He was not only a politician but also scholar and writer of a high order. He wrote on Mīmāṃsā philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology and Smṛiti. On Mīmāṃsā, we know of only one work of his, the *Tautātita-mata-tilaka* which is a gloss on Kumārila's *Tantravārttika*³ and evidently referred to in verse 23 of the inscription (*Mīmāṃsāyām-upāyaḥ sa khalu virachito yena Bhaṭṭa-uktanītyā* etc.) This work is known only from the fragment of a Ms. in the India Office Library. None of Bhavadeva's works dealing with Astronomy or Astrology has yet been discovered. Regarding his

¹ *Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III, No. I (*Rāmacharita*), Introduction, p. 15; *Bāṅglār Itihās* (2nd ed.), p. 293 and n. 67. Śāstrī and Banerji take *Bhava-bhūṣaṇa* to mean 'the serpent', while according to R. P. Chanda, it is to be taken in the sense of 'Moon' (*Gauḍa-rājamālā*, p. 51).

² See M. Chakravarti's article, "Bhaṭṭabhavadeva of Bengal", *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. VIII (1912), pp. 333-47.

³ Known also as *Tantravārttikaṭīkā* ³, Aufrecht, *Catal. Cat.*, part II, p. 90.

treatises on Smṛiti we have the wellknown *Karmānushthāna-paddhati* or *Daśa-karmapaddhati* and the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa*. The former has been published several times and the latter is being published by the Varendra Research Society. Some colophons of the two works add the epithet 'Bāla-Valabhī-bhujaṅga' to Bhavadeva's name; and in some Mss. the colophon of the first chapter of the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* describes him as *Sāndhivigrahika*. This leaves no doubt that the author of the two works and Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva of the Bhuvaneśvar *prasaṣṭi* are identical. There are many other books attributed to Bhavadeva, but as they do not mention either his epithet or official designation his identity with our Bhavadeva is extremely doubtful. There is another wellknown example, in the history of Bengal, of a minister, who was also scholar and author. This is Halāyudha, minister of Lakshmaṇasena and the reputed author of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* and a number of other works.¹ The epithet Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga has been the subject of much speculation,² but has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The word 'Bāla-valabhī' occurs, however, as a place name in the *Rāmācharita* commentary (*Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 36). The situation of Bāla-valabhī is not known. The commentary places it in or near Devagrāma which also is equally obscure. It is impossible to ascertain at the present state of our knowledge why Bhavadeva was called 'the serpent of Bāla-valabhī'. A place called Vṛiddhavalabhī situated in the Gauḍa country is mentioned in the colophon of a Ms. of the *Sārva-devapratishṭhā-paddhati* of Trivikramasūri³. Thus it appears that there were Valabhī major and also Valabhī minor in Bengal.—Regarding other geographical terms in the record the separate mention of Gauḍa and Vaṅga respectively in the expressions *Gauḍa-nṛipa* (v. 7) and *Vaṅga-rāja* (v. 10) indicates that these were probably separate principalities in those days. Siddhala⁴ (the native place of Bhavadeva) is mentioned also in the Belāva copper-plate (above p. 19). The village Hastinībhīṭṭa is not known from any other record. None of these two villages has yet been identified with certainty.

The identity of Vāchaspati, the composer of the eulogy, who describes himself as a friend of Bhavadeva, has not yet been established. It is evidently he who is mentioned along with Bhavadeva in the colophon of a Ms. of the

¹ J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. XI (1915), p. 327ff.

² *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 99, *Bāṅglār Itihās*, p. 288 and the references there cited.

³ Sāstrī, *Descriptive Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, Vol. III (1925), p. 529.

⁴ Siddhala, according to the Bengal Kulapañjikās, was one of the 56 villages of the Rādhiya Brāhmaṇas and granted to Vasishṭha, a Brāhmaṇa of the Śāvarṇa gotra—see *Gauḍe Brāhmaṇa*, p. 164.

Karmānushthānāpaddhati in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.¹ There is also a verse ascribed to one Vāchaspati in Śrīdhara's *Saduktikarmāmṛita*.² Rajendra Lal Mitra identified the writer of the *praśasti* with the wellknown Vāchaspati Miśra, but this view has not been accepted.³

Depending on literary sources Monmohan Chakravarti has worked out the date of Bhavadeva.⁴ He is cited in the *Karmopadeśinīpaddhati* of Aniruddha who is regarded as identical with Aniruddha, the religious preceptor of king Vallālasena. According to certain Mss. of the *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhūtasāgara* Vallālasena was living in 1169 A. D. In his *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* Bhavadeva refers to the opinion of a Smṛiti writer Viśvarūpa who is looked upon as later than Bhoja, king of Dhārā (1021 A. D.). From this calculation it has been assumed that the date of Bhavadeva lies between *circa* 1025 and 1150 A. D. We have already seen that on the strength of palæography and internal evidence furnished by the present inscription its date and consequently the date of Bhavadeva, should be taken to be earlier than the first quarter of the 12th century and even the last quarter of the 11th century A. D. A more definite estimate of his time cannot I daresay be formed at present in the absence of any further data.

The temple erected by Bhavadeva is the same as the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhuvaneśvar, which is next in sanctity and importance only to the great Liṅgarāja Temple. It has been described and illustrated by Rajendra Lal Mitra,⁵ Monmohan Chakravarti⁶ and Monmohan Ganguly.⁷ The temple is a remarkable example of Orissan Architecture and is undoubtedly a highly creditable achievement on the part of Bhavadeva. The tank referred to in the inscription is no longer traceable and some scholars are of opinion⁸ that "it has been probably absorbed in the great tank of Vindusāgara."

TEXT.

ॐॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेव[१]य¹⁰ ॥ ¹¹गाढोपगूढकमलाकुचकुम्भपद्ममुद्राङ्कितेन¹² वपुषा
परिष्णमान [ः] । मा लुप्यतामभिनवा वनमालिकेति वाग्देवतोपहसितोस्तु हरिः श्रिये
वः ॥ [१*] ¹³वाल्यात् प्रभृत्यहरहृत्यदुपासितासि वाग्दे-

¹ J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. VIII (1912), p. 333.

² M. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

³ *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 83ff and pl. XXXVI.

⁴ *Orissa and her Remains*, p. 369ff and pl. XVII (B).

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The medial ā sign is made by a short upright stroke which seems to have been inserted after the first two letters were engraved.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

⁸ Originally *mudr-āṅkito* was engraved.

⁹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

¹⁰ *Bib. Ind.* ed., p. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 342-45.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pls. XV—XVIII, and XX.

¹³ M. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

- 2 वते तदधुना फलतु प्रसीद । वक्तास्मि भट्टभवदेवकुलप्रशस्तिसूक्ताक्षराणि रसनाग्र-
मधिश्रयेथाः ॥ [2*] ¹सावर्ण्यस्य सुनेर्महोयसि कुले ये जज्ञिरे श्रोत्रिया स्तेषां शासन-
भूमयो जनिगृह्यन्तामाः ² शतं सन्तु ते । आर्यावर्त्तभुवास्मि ³
- 3 भूषणमिह ख्यातस्तु सर्व्वाग्रिमो ग्रामः सिद्धल एव केवलमलङ्कारोस्ति राढाश्रियः ॥
[3*] ⁴सत्पल्लवः स्थितिमयो दृढवज्रमूलः शाखाग्रलग्नमुखरद्विजशीलितश्रीः । न
ग्रन्थिलो न कुटिलः सरलः सुपर्वा सर्व्वोन्नतः सुखमिह प्रससार वंशः ॥ [4*]
- 4 ⁵तदंशोत्तंसमणेः ⁶ कलश ⁷ दातापि तापनप्रतिमः । भव इव विद्यातत्त्वप्रभवः प्रबभूव
भवदेवः ॥ [5*] ⁸अग्रजानुजयोर्मध्ये महादेवाद्वासायोः । स जज्ञे यज्ञपुरुषो
विरिञ्चिहरयोरिव ॥ [6*] ⁹स शासनं गौडनृपादवा-
- 5 प श्रीहस्तिनोभिदृमभीष्टभूमि । अष्टौ सुतानष्ट महेशमूर्त्तिप्रख्यान् विजज्ञेथ रथाङ्ग-
मुख्यान् ॥ [7*] ¹⁰रथाङ्गादत्यङ्गः समजनि जनानन्दजननः शशीव क्षीरोदादविकल-
कलाकेलिनिलयः । स्फुरत्प्रज्ञाज्योतिः स्फुरित इति नाम्ना दि-
- 6 शि दिशि प्रकाशोभूत्सौम्यग्रह इव बुधस्तस्य तनयः ॥ [8*] ¹¹तस्मादभूदभिजना-
भ्युदयैकबीजमव्याजपौरुषमहातरुमूलकन्दः । श्रीआदिदेव ¹² इति देव इवादि-
मूर्त्तिर्मा[र्त्या]त्मना भुवनमेतदलङ्कारिणः ॥ [9*] ¹³यो वङ्गराज-
- 7 राज्यश्रीविश्रामसचिवः शुचिः । महामन्त्री महापात्रमबन्धः सन्धिविग्रही ॥ [10] ¹⁴स
देवकौगर्भभवं भुवः स्थितौ समर्थमुच्चैःपदलब्धपौरुषं । सरस्वतीजानिमजीजनत्सुतं
जगत्सु गोवर्द्धनमच्युतोपमं ¹⁵ ॥ [11*] ¹⁶वीरखलीषु च सभासु च ती-
- 8 र्थिकानां दो[र्त्ती]लया ¹⁷ च कलया च वचस्त्रितायाः । यो वर्द्धयन् वसुमतीञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च
हेधा व्यधत्त निजनामपदं सदर्थं ¹⁸ ॥ [12*] ¹⁹वन्द्यां वन्द्यघटोयस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रयतां
सुताम् । साङ्गोक्तामङ्गनारत्नम्यत्नीं स परिणीतवान् ॥ [13*] ²⁰तस्यां स्वप्न[वि]धा-
- 9 नबोधितनिजोत्पादः स देवो हरिर्जातः श्रीभवदेवमूर्त्तिरसुतः क्षामण्डलीकश्यपात् ।
यत्पाणिप्रणयि हयञ्चलजयोरालक्षितं लक्ष्मणा यस्यान्तर्निहितोस्ति कौस्तुभ इति ज्ञातं
प्रकाशोदयात् ॥ [14*] ²¹लक्ष्मीन्दक्षिणदोणि मन्त्रविभवे विश्व-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

⁷ The actual reading is either *kelasya dātāpi* or *kalasya dātāpi*. Kielhorn suggests the reading *kalāv adāto=pi*. Prinsep corrected it as *phalasya dāt-āpi* which I think may be safely adopted.

⁸ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

¹² On account of the exigency of metre no euphony is made between *Śrī* and *Ādideva*.

¹³ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

¹⁵ Read *sadartham*.

²⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Read *janigriha-grāmāḥ*.

⁵ Metre: Āryā.

⁹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁶ Metre: Vāṃśastha.

¹⁷ The superscript *r* stroke is not clear.

¹⁸ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

²¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ Read *bhuvām vibhūṣaṇā*.

⁶ Read *manih*.

¹⁰ Metre: Śikharinī.

¹⁵ Read *opamam*.

- 10 अरामण्डलं जिह्वाग्रे च सरस्वतीं रिपुतनौ नागान्तकं पक्षिणं । चक्रम्पादतले निवेशित-
वता दिव्यन्तदायम्बु¹निहोतुन्नजिचिह्नमेतदमुना नूनम्विपर्यासितं² ॥ [15*] ³यन्मन्त्र-
शक्तिसचिवः सुचिरं चकार राज्यं स धर्मविजयी
- 11 हरिवर्धदेवः । तन्नन्दने वलति यस्य च दण्डनीतिवर्तानुगा⁴ बहलकल्पलतेव लक्ष्मीः ॥
[16*] ⁵सत्पात्रस्य महाशयस्य कमलाधारस्य यस्य क्षमास्त्रिभाणस्य⁶ गुणाम्बुधे
रकलितस्यान्तर्न दीनात्मनः । मर्यादा-महिमप्रसा-
- 12 दशुचितागाम्भीर्यधैर्यस्थितिप्रायाः प्रायश एव वाक्पथमतिक्रान्ताः स्वदन्ते गुणाः ॥
[17*] ⁷महागौरी कौर्त्तिः स्फुरदसिकराला भुजलता रणक्रीडा चण्डी रिपुरुधिरचर्चा
रणभुवः [1*] महालक्ष्मीर्भूतिः प्रकृतिललि-
- 13 तास्ता⁸गिर इति प्रपञ्चः शक्तीनां यमिह परमेशं प्रथयति ॥ [18*] ⁹यद्ब्राह्मतेजसि
बलीयसि मन्दवीर्यः खद्योतपोतकरणिं तरणिस्तनीति । उच्चैरुदञ्चति यदीययशःशरीरे
जातस्तुषारशिखरी ननु जानुदघ्नः ॥ [19*] ¹⁰ब्रह्मा-
- 14 हैतविदामुदाहरणभूरुद्रुतविद्याद्रुतस्रष्टा भट्टगिरां गभीरिमगुणप्रत्यक्षदृष्टा कविः । बौद्धा-
भोनिधिक्षुम्भसम्भवमुनिः पाषण्डवैतण्डिकप्रज्ञाखण्डनपण्डितोयमवनौ सर्व्वज्ञलीलायते ॥
[20*] ¹¹सिद्धान्ततन्त्रगणि-
- 15 तार्क्ष्यवपारदृष्टा विश्वाद्रुतप्रसविता फलसंहितासु । कर्त्ता स्वयं प्रथयिता च नवीनहोरा-
शास्त्रस्य यः स्फुटमभूदपरो वराहः ॥ [21*] ¹²यो धर्मशास्त्रपदवीषु जरन्निबन्धानन्धी-
चकार रचितोचितसत्प्रबन्धः । सुव्याख्यया विशद-
- 16 यन्मुनिधर्मगाथाः स्मार्त्तक्रियाविषयसंशयमुन्ममायर्ज्ज ॥ [22*] ¹³मीमान्सायासुपायः¹⁴
स खलु विरचितो येन भट्टोक्तनीत्या यत्र न्याया सहस्रं रविकिरणसमा न क्षमन्ते
तमान्सि¹⁵ । किं भूम्ना सीम्नि सान्नां सकलकविकलास्वागमेष्वर्थ-
- 17 शास्त्रेष्वायुर्व्वे¹⁶दास्त्रवेदप्रभृतिषु कृतधीरद्वितीयोयमेव ॥ [23*] ¹⁷यस्य खलु
बालवलभीभुजङ्ग इति नाम नाट्यं केन । मीमान्सायापि¹⁸ सपुलकमाकर्षितवर्षि-
तोक्तीत¹⁹ ॥ [24*] ²⁰दंष्ट्रालदुष्टभुजगव्रणमोहरात्रि²¹ प्रत्युषतृथ्यनिन-
- 18 दैरिव मन्त्रवर्षैः । यो जीवयन्²² जगदशेषमभूदपूर्व्वमृत्युञ्जयो गरलकेलिषु नीलकण्ठः ॥

¹ Read *ādyam*.⁴ Originally *vartmo* - was engraved.⁷ Metre: Śikhariṇī.⁹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Metre: Sragdharā.¹⁶ The sign for superscript *r* is not clear.¹⁸ Read *mīmāṃsāy*.²¹ Kielhorn reads *rātri-pratyūsha*.²² Read *i vayan*.² Read *nūnam viparyyāsitam*.⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ The letter *tā* looks like *nā* in the facsimile.¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹⁴ Read *mīmāṃsāyam*.¹⁹ Read *-gītam*.³ Metre: Vasantatilaka.⁶ Read *kshamām*.¹² Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹⁵ Read *tamāmsi*.¹⁷ Metre: Āryā.²⁰ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

But the above arrangement would give a better sense.

- [25*] 'राढायामजलासु जाङ्गलपथग्रामोपकण्ठस्थलोसीमासु अममग्नपान्यपरिषत्-
प्राणाशय-प्रोषणः । येनाकारि जलाशयः प-
- 19 रिसरज्ञाताभिजाताङ्गना वक्ताजप्रतिविम्बमुग्धमधुपीशून्याजिनोकाननः ॥ [26*]
²तेनायं भगवान् भवाख्यवससुत्ताराय नारायणः शैलसेतुरिव प्रसाधितधरापीठः प्रतिष्ठा-
पितः । यः प्राचीवदनेन्दुनीलतिलको लीलावतन्सोत्पलं³ भू-
- 20 मेभूर्तलपारिजातविटपी संकल्पसिद्धिप्रदः ॥ [27*] ⁴तेन प्रासाद एष त्रिपुरहरगिरि-
सर्द्धया वद्धितश्रीः श्रीमान्⁵ श्रीवच्छलक्ष्मा⁶ हरिरिव विहितो विस्फुरच्चक्रचिह्नः । जित्वा
यो वैजयन्तं वियति वितनुते वैजयन्तीविलासान् कैलासे
- 21 नाभिलाषं कलयति गिरिशो यस्य संलक्ष्य लक्ष्मी⁷ ॥ [28*] ⁸न्यवीविशद्देश्मनि तत्र विष्णोः
स निर्भरं गद्भर्गहान्तरेषु । नारायणानन्तनृसिंहमूर्त्तिर्विधातवक्त्रेष्विव वेदविद्याः
[29*] ⁹एतस्मै हरिमिधसे वसुमतौविश्रान्तविद्याधरोविभ्रान्ति-
- 22 न्दधतीः शतं स हि ददौ शारङ्गशावौदृशः । दग्धस्योदृशः दृशेव दिशतीः कामस्य
संजीवनं काराः कामिजनस्य सङ्गमगृहं सङ्गीतकेलिश्रियां¹⁰ ॥ [30*] ¹¹प्रासादाग्रे
स खलु जगतः पुण्यपख्येकवीथीं चक्रे वापीं मरकतमणिस्र-
- 23 च्छसुच्छायतोयां । मध्येवारि प्रतिक्रतिमिषाद्दर्शयन्तीव तादृग्विष्णोर्द्धामाङ्गुतमहिकुल-
स्याधिकं या चकास्ति ॥ [31*] ¹²व्यधित विबुधधान्नः सीन्नि संसारसारं स खलु निखिल-
नेत्रानन्दनिस्यन्दपात्रं । त्रिभुवनजयखिन्नानङ्गविश्रा-
- 24 मधाम प्रथितरतिविभावस्थानमुद्यानरत्न¹³ ॥ [32*] ¹⁴तस्येव प्रियसुहृदा द्विजाग्रिमेष
श्रीवाचस्पति-कविना कृता प्रशस्तिः । आकल्पं शुचिसुरधाममूर्त्तिकीर्त्तं रथ्यास्तां
जघनमियं सुव[र्ण]काञ्ची ॥ [33*].....¹⁵
- 25 प्रशस्तिरियं बालवल्लभोभुजङ्गापरनान्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य ॥¹⁶

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ Read-*āvataṁ*.

⁴ Metre : Sragdharā.

⁵ Read *śrīmān*.⁶ Read *śrīvatsa-lakṣmā*. The ā- stroke is very carelessly engraved.⁷ Read *lakṣmīm*.

⁸ Metre : Upajāti.

⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁰ Read *-śrīyām*.

¹¹ Metre : Mandākrāntā.

¹² Metre : Mālini.

¹³ Read *-ratnam*.

¹⁴ Metre : Praharṣiṇī.

¹⁵ As Professor Kielhorn observes, there are here about 8 *akṣaras* entirely illegible. The concluding ones he tentatively reads as [sa] *mkk* [yā] [33 ?] denoting the total number of verses. This is, however, extremely doubtful.¹⁶ In the subjoined facsimile the sign for *anusvāra* and parts of conjunct letters, especially those that constitute the second member in a group, are in many cases indistinct or do not appear at all. In the foregoing transcript I have not purposely put them within brackets as the indistinctness or non-appearance may be due to the defect of my estampages and not to the carelessness of the scribe. It may be noted that Kielhorn also does not put these letters within brackets.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Om ! Om ! Adoration to the lord Vāsudeva.

(Verse 1). May Hari make you prosperous—(the god) who being desirous of embracing (Sarasvatī) with his body marked with the saffron-lines on the jar-like breasts of Lakshmi (already) held by him in deep embrace was thus taunted by the goddess of speech (Sarasvatī)—“Donot spoil (thy) fresh garland (Oh ! lord !).”

(Verse 2). Oh ! goddess of Speech ! may you now fulfil (my desire) and be propitious (unto me), since I have been worshipping you daily from my very childhood. I shall have presently to recite fine syllables of eulogy of the family of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva—may you (therefore) reside in the tip of my tongue.

(Verse 3). There may be a hundred villages which contain gift-lands and are the birth place¹ of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedic lore, born in the illustrious lineage of the sage Sāvārṇṇa ; but the only one that is famous in this world and has adorned the country of Āryāvarta is the village of Siddhala, the foremost of all and the ornament of the fortune-goddess of Rādhā.

(Verse 4). Here spread out the family² (tree) with ease, having fine twigs, fixed (in a particular place), with its root firmly established, having beauty enhanced by chirping birds resting on the extremities of its branches, without any knot, without being crooked, straight, having excellent joints and as the highest of all.

(Verse 5). There was born Bhavadeva, the crest-jewel of that family, who ven like the sun-god, was a giver of fruit and like Śiva (himself), the source of the true principles of knowledge.

(Verse 6). Between his elder and younger brothers Mahādeva and Aṭṭahāsa he was like ‘the soul of sacrifice,’ *i. e.*, Viṣṇu, between Brahmā and Śiva.³

(Verse 7). He received as grant (the village of) Hastinībhīṭṭa which was the land to his heart, from the king of Gauḍa, and looked upon his

¹ Kielhorn (*op. cit.*, p. 203) takes *śāsanabhūmayah* and *janigrihagrāmāḥ* as two independent nouns.

² In the case of ‘the family’ the words used with reference to ‘the tree’ would mean that the family consisted of excellent members, was well-established and known for simplicity, straight-forwardness, and other good qualities and that it yielded eloquent (*mukhara*) Brāhmaṇas (*dviṣa*), cultivating (*śīla*) the various branches (*sākhā*) of the Vedas.

³ Here is a reference to the wellknown Trimūrti conception according to which Viṣṇu’s place would be in the middle of the three gods.

eight sons as the eight forms of Maheśa (Śiva)¹ of whom the eldest was Rathāṅga.

(Verse 8). From Rathāṅga was born Atyaṅga, the source of the delight of men, as the Moon, who is (as it were) the place of revelry of the undiminished digits,² from the Ocean of Milk. His son was Budha comparable to the planet (Budha), son of Soma, (possessed of another) name Sphurita, and emitting a lustre of wisdom he became resplendent in all the quarters.

(Verse 9). From him was born Ādideva, the unique seed of prosperity of the family and the very root of the great tree of true manliness,³ resembling the Primeval god (Brahmā) adorning this world by his human body⁴.

(Verse 10). That holy (person) was a minister to His Royal Majesty the king of Vaṅga in his time of relaxation and was successful as (his) supreme councillor and supreme official, in peace and war.

(Verse 11). He begat on his wife Devakī, for the preservation of the earth, a son (known) in the (three) worlds as Govarddhana who was a compeer of Achyuta (Kṛishṇa). He was an able person, his manly attainments⁵ had reached a high standard and he had Sarasvatī as his wife.

(Verse 12). Having increased (both his) land and learning in battlefields (lit. in the fields of heroes) and assemblies of heretics, (respectively) by the feat of his arms and (display) of oratorical skill he justified his name (Govarddhana)⁶ in a twofold sense.

(Verse 13). He accepted as his (second) wife Sāṅgokā, the adorable and pious daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya⁷ Brāhmaṇa, who was a jewel among ladies.

(Verse 14). Of her and that Kaśyapa (sage)⁸ of the earth was born lord Hari in his manifestation as Bhavadeva after having foreboded his birth in a dream. A couple of lotuses had attachment for his hands and these could be recognised in the (lotus) marks (on his palms)⁹; and (so also was)

¹ The eight forms of Śiva are Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādeva, Bhava, Īśvara, and Bhīma representing respectively the earth, fire, sacrificer, sun, water, wind, moon and the sky. (*Agnipurāṇa*, Ānandāśrama ed., Ch. 96, vv. 83-4). It is wellknown from Kālidāsa's reference in the beginning verse of *Sākuntala*.

² The word *kalā* in the case of Atyaṅga will mean the 64 arts.

³ The expression *avyāja-pauruṣa* may in the case of Brahmā mean 'the Real Being', or Brahman.

⁴ In this verse the words *martya* and *deva* are used as antonyms.

⁵ For the word *pauruṣa* cf. v. 9 above.

⁶ There is an evident play on the word *go* which has 'earth' as one of its meanings.

⁷ Vandyā is one of the 56 villages of the Rādhīya Brāhmaṇas. Those who are supposed to be descendants of the Brāhmaṇas of Vandyā-grāma are now called 'Vandyopādhyāyas' or 'Banerjis'.

⁸ According to mythology Kaśyapa is the father of Viṣṇu.

⁹ The poet here probably wants to indicate that only one lotus is held by Viṣṇu in one of his hands but Bhavadeva had two such lotuses.

the (existence of the) Kaustubha (jewel)¹ in his heart (known) from the increase of his glory.

(Verse 15). By that one was truly revolutionised (the usual order of) his own characteristic marks,² since he placed Lakshmī on his righthand side, the Earth, under the influence of his counsel³, Sarasvatī, on the tip of his tongue, the bird Garuḍa (Nāgāntaka), in the body of his enemies, and the discus, on (the soles of) his feet, in order to conceal his divine, primordial body.

(Verse 16). With him as his minister in matters relating to peace and war⁴, that king Harivarmmadeva, who gained lawful victory, ruled the kingdom for a long time. In his garden (or son)⁵ flourished his Fortune goddess who followed the path laid out in the Principles of Government⁶, like the luxuriant Kalpalatā creeper.

(Verse 17). There was no limit to that undivided ocean of virtues, (namely) that humble-minded one. He was a worthy and magnanimous being, the support of Lakshmī and the upholder of the earth. His virtues, (for instance), self-respect, dignity, gentleness, purity, gravity, patience and steadfastness, which were beyond the range of verbal expression, were as a rule appreciated (by the people.)

(Verse 18). (The goddess) Mahāgaūrī, (namely his) Fame, (the goddess) Chāṇḍī revelling in warfare and besmeared with the blood of enemies in the field of battle, (namely his) creeper-like arms fearful on account of the flashing sword, (the goddess) Mahālakshmī, (namely his own) appearance, and that Speech (of his) beautiful by nature—this assemblage of the different Female energies (goddesses) reveals him to be 'the paramount lord' (*Parameśa*), in this world.

(Verse 19). Before his magnificent Brahmanic glory (even) the Sun (becomes) lacking in lustre and assumes the appearance of a small glow-worm. Even the 'ice-peaked' one' (i.e. the Himalayas) reaches really upto the knees (when compared with) the body of his fame rising upwards.

(Verse 20).⁷ He stands as an example to those who are conversant with

¹ The traditional idea is that the possessor of the Kaustubha jewel attains prosperity.

² Vishṇu should have Lakshmī to his left, Sarasvatī to his right, the discus in his hand, Garuḍa as his carrier and the Earth goddess between his feet (*Haribhaktivilāsa*, XVIII vilāsa). There seems to be a pun on *nāga* and *patrin* in the passage *ripūtanau nāgāntakam patrinam*. It has been explained above.

³ He holds the earth in *mantravibhava* i. e. rules it according to the policy of peace and war (*mantraśakti*).

⁴ *Mantraśakti* is one of the three kinds of *Śaktis* viz. *utsāha-śakti*, *mantraśakti* and *prabhuśakti*. That which is concerned with peace and war is *mantraśakti* or 'statecraft' which is looked upon as superior to both *prabhuśakti* and *utsāhaśakti*. See *Agnipurāṇa* quoted in *Rājanītiprakāśa*, Benares 1916, p. 306 and *mantramūlam* = *idam rājyam* of Yājñavalkya quoted in *ibid.*, p. 308.

⁵ There is a pun here on the word *nandana* which means both 'son' and 'heavenly garden'.

⁶ For this translation of the technical term *daṇḍanīti* see Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part I, p. 5.

⁷ This and the following five verses have been translated by Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 204, and vv. 20-23 also by Monmohan Chakravarti, *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. VIII (1912), p. 337.

the non-dual aspect of Brahman, a creator of their wonder by (the display of) his proficient knowledge and a prophet who has ocular realisation of the deep significance of the words of Bhaṭṭa.¹ He is a very sage Agastya to the sea of the Bauddhas, and clever in the refutation of the judgment of heretic dialecticians, he plays the part of the omniscient (being)², on earth.

(Verse 21). As one who knew the end of the ocean of *Siddhānta*³, *Tantra* and *Gaṇita*,⁴ and created the wonder of all in the subject of Astrology (*Phalasaṃhitā*), and as one who was the author and promulgator of a new treatise on Horoscopy (*Horāśāstra*) he evidently appeared as another Varāha⁵.

(Verse 22). He cast into shade the old codes (current) in the different branches of Dharmaśāstra by composing appropriate and fine treatises of his own; and having elucidated the verses of sages relating to Dharma by his excellent gloss he removed (all) doubts in regard to the rites enjoined in the Smritis.

(Verse 23). Following the Text propounded by Bhaṭṭa he composed that famous guide-book to Mīmāṃsā (philosophy) in which there are a thousand arguments like the rays of the sun that do not tolerate darkness.⁶ (But) what is the need of expatiation? He is indeed second to none, having proficiency in the whole range (lit. upto the furthest end) of Vedic hymns, in all the arts of poesy, in the *Āgamas*⁷, in the various literature connected with the *Arthaśāstra*,⁸ in Medical science, the science dealing with the use of arms and other subjects.

(Verse 24). Who indeed does not honour his name 'Bālavālabhībhujaṅga'? It is heard, recited and chanted with delight even by (the followers of the) Mīmāṃsā (school).

(Verse 25). Having restored by his magic syllables⁹ like the morning notes of music, the whole world to life—(the world) that was (thrown into) a night of un-

¹ I. E. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, author of the Vārttikas (*Tantra*, *Mīmāṃsā* etc.)

² I. E. Brahmā.

³ Through oversight, Kielhorn has *Samhitā* for *Siddhānta* in his translation of this verse and adds also a footnote on *Samhitā* by way of explanation.

⁴ *Tantra* treats of 'the motions of heavenly bodies'. (Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 204, n. 2 where he refers to Thibaut's *Astronomy*, p. 64). According to *Bṛihatsamhitā*, *Tantra* and *Gaṇita* are the same, *grahāṇām = ādityādinām yā gatir = gamnām pratirāśu sañchrayam sā yena jñāyate tad = gaṇitam tasya cha tantram = iti samjñā*.—

(Bhaṭṭotpala's comments on I. 9) In this record however, the two words seem to have different connotation. *Siddhānta* means the five *siddhāntas*, viz., Pauliṣa, Romaka, Vasishṭha, Sūrya and Brahma (*Bṛihatsamhitā*, Viz. Sans. Series, Part I, p. 22.) *Phalasaṃhitā* corresponds to *saṃhitā* of *Bṛihatsamhitā*, which Bhaṭṭotpala explains as *Phalagrantha* (Ibid., p. 22.)

⁵ I. E. Varāhamihira, author of the *Bṛihatsamhitā*.

⁶ The word *tamāmsi* may also mean here, in the case of the treatise on *Mīmāṃsā*, 'sophistic arguments'.

⁷ 'Traditional lore' -Kielhorn. It may technically mean the Tantras.

⁸ I. E. the treatises of Kauṭilya and others, not 'works on worldly affairs' as Kielhorn takes it.

⁹ This certainly refers to his own writings.

consciousness (caused) by the bites of venomous and fanged serpents,¹ he (has proved himself to be) a new vanquisher of death, the (god) Nīlakaṇṭha in (his) poison-carnivals.²

(Verse 26). In Rādhā, in the waterless³ boundary-lands abutting on a village situated in an arid region, has been made (i. e. excavated) by him a reservoir of water (or tank) which gladdens the soul and mind of the company of tourists sunk in fatigue, and whose beds of lotuses have become devoid of bees as they are fascinated by the reflections on its surface of the lotus-faces of beautiful damsels engaged in bath.

(Verse 27). By him is installed this god Nārāyaṇa of lithic form, like a causeway erected on earth for crossing successfully the ocean of re-birth. (The god) is like the blue mark⁴ on the moon-like face of the eastern horizon, the lotus-ear-ornament sportively worn by the Earth and the heavenly (Pārijāta) tree of (this) terrestrial world fructifying (all human) desires.

(Verse 28). By him is built this edifice whose beauty is enhanced by (its) rivalry with the mountain of the destroyer of Tripura (i. e. Śiva), and which like Hari himself is endowed with Śrī and possessed of the Śrīvatsa mark and the emblem of the flashing discus.⁵ (This temple) having surpassed Vaijayanta (the abode of Indra) unfolds the charms of streamers in the sky; and beholding its beauty (even) Śiva does not evince any desire for Kailāsa⁶.

(Verse 29). There, in Viṣṇu's temple, in the respective sanctums (Garbhagrihas) he ardently placed images of the god in the form of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha like the (three) Vedas in the mouths of the Creator (i. e. Brahmā).

(Verse 30). To this (god) Harimedhas (i. e. Viṣṇu) he gave a hundred (damsels)⁷ having eyes like those of young deer, who created the delusion that they were celestial nymphs taking rest on earth. They restored to life as it were

¹ It probably refers to the authors whose views he refuted.

² That is to say just as Śiva drank poison, but it had no effect upon him so also Bhavadeva read and digested the whole lot of sophistic and therefore poisonous, literature current in his time but was not affected by it in any way.

³ For *jaṅgalapatha* see Roth and Bothlink, *Sanskrit-wörterbuch*, s. v.

⁴ The blue colour of Nārāyaṇa is proverbial.

⁵ These probably refer to the emblems surmounting the *śikhara* of the temple. Cf. *sach chakra-saṅgatiṃ* as applying, to a temple of Bhuvaneśvar- *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p 155 and n. 1. There is an evident pun on the word *Śrī* meaning 'beauty' as well as 'Lakshmi'.

⁶ It is rather tempting to suggest that the poet here is reminded of the existence of Tribhuvaneśvara (Liṅgarāja) close to Anantavāsudeva. According to a Vaiṣṇavite tradition Śiva asked the permission of Vāsudeva to stay in Ekāmrakshetra and (i. e., Bhuvaneśvar) the latter granted it. See R. L. Mitra, *Ant. Or.*, Vol. II, pp. 63-4.

⁷ These are the dancing girls (*devadāsīs*) of the temple.

by (a mere) glance the god of love burnt by the Terrible-eyed one (*i. e.* Śiva); and were the prison houses of the passionate and the meeting-hall of Music, Dalliance and Beauty.

(Verse 31). He excavated in front of the temple a tank, which was truly the unique emporium of the world for the purchase of merit, and of which, the water was shady and as transparent as emerald. It shone, displaying in the midst of water that wonderful temple of Viṣṇu almost exactly as it is, which on account of false imagery, caused the anxiety of the brood of serpents.

(Verse 32). He laid out an excellent garden along the boundary of the temple. It was the essence of this world, the receptacle into which had been distilled the delight of the eyes of all men, and the resting place of the god of love exhausted in the conquest of the three worlds, and was famous as the place that excited amorous feeling.

(Verse 33). This eulogy is composed by the poet Vāchaspati, the foremost of Brāhmaṇas and his (*i. e.* Bhavadeva's) own dear friend. May this golden zone remain upto the end of the Cycle on the loins of his Fame embodied in the sacred temple.

(Line 25). This eulogy is of Bhāṭṭa-Bhavadeva, having another name Bālavālabhībhujaṅga.

V. DEOPĀRĀ INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASENA.

This inscription, which is incised on a stone slab, was discovered by C. T. Metcalfe in 1865, near the village of Deopārā in Police station Godāgārī, in the Rājshāhī district of Bengal. Deopārā is situated at a distance of seven miles to the west of the Rājshāhī town and reached by a road leading to Godāgārī. The locality round about the findspot of the inscription was explored by a party organised by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray of Dighapatiya in 1910. As a result, the explorers came upon an extensive tract of land covered by old tanks, stone relics and remains of ancient buildings. To the north of Deopārā, at some distance, is Chabbisnagar and to the south is the village of Vijaynagar through which passes the Rajshahi-Godāgārī road. In Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta* a place called Vijayapura is mentioned as the capital of the Sena kings. In the opinion of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, one of those who explored the site in 1910, this Vijayapura should be identified with the modern village of Vijaynagar.¹ The magnificent temple of Pradyumneśvara, whose erection the present inscription records, stood at Deopārā, on the bank of an enormous tank, now known as 'Padumshar'. Here vandalism has left nothing but a few architectural fragments to keep alive its memory. The tank, which is also referred to in the inscription, was partially re-excavated by the Varendra Research Society in 1919, and it resulted in the discovery of as many as 129 pieces of stone relics which have now found a shelter in the Society's Museum at Rājshāhī.²

The inscription was first published by Metcalfe in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXIV, part I, pp. 128-54, and afterwards critically edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 305-15 and facsimile. A fresh edition is now attempted from a set of inked estampages taken from the original stone deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The inscription consists of 32 lines of uniform length. The stone on which it is engraved measures 3'2" by 1'9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " while the inscribed surface measures 2'7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 1'5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The engraver has done his work most beautifully and with great care. The inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. Where there is a blank space left after the last letter in a line a vertical stroke has been put in (e. g. in line 2 after the last letter *ra*). The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ".

¹ *Gaudarājamālā* (Rājshāhī, 1319 B. S.), p. 75. See also *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 101, 105.

² *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle*, 1918-19, p. 7 and 1920-21, p. 34.

The characters belong to a variety of the Northern alphabets which may be called the precursors of the modern Bengali as current in North-eastern India in the 11th century A. D. Prof. Kielhorn has already shown how certain letters e. g. initial *i* and *e* and the consonants *kh*, *j*, *t*, *n*, *t*, *ph*, *bh*, *r* and *l*, and the conjuncts *ksh*, *jñ* and *hm* differ from their contemporary Nāgarī forms prevalent in other parts of Northern India. Further, Mr. R. D. Banerji,¹ who has dwelt upon the alphabet of the present document at length, has clearly shown, that in about twenty-two letters the development of the Bengali forms is more or less complete.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of *om om namaḥ Śivāya* at the beginning the whole inscription is in verse. The number of verses is thirty-six which are composed in a variety of metres viz. Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Sragdharā, Prithvī, Mandākṛantā, Mālinī, Śikharinī, Indravajrā and Upajāti.—In respect of orthography the following points should be noted: a letter following a superscript *r* is doubled in the majority of cases; a letter preceding a subscript *r* is optionally doubled (*chhattram*, l. 3; *dhariṭrī*, l. 29); and the same sign is employed to denote *b* and *v*. The *avagraha* is used in four cases out of thirteen. The errors of the scribe are very few; attention may be drawn here only to *Dharmmo* for *Dharmma* in line 32.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty. The only other known record of this king is the Barrackpore copper-plate of the year 62. The inscription opens with obeisance to god Siva followed by an invocation to Śambhu (i. e. Siva) and the temple of Pradyumneśvara who is described as a combination of Hari and Hara (vv. 1-2). Next is introduced the Moon god in whose lineage were born Virasena and other kings of Dākṣiṇātya (vv. 3-4). We are then told that Sāmantasena who was 'the head-garland of the Brahmakshatriyas' flourished in that family (v. 5), and inflicted a crushing defeat on the despoilers of the Fortune of Kārṇāṭa assailed by enemies on all sides (v. 8). In his later years he took to religious life and lived in hermitages on the banks of the Ganges (v. 9). From him was born Hemantasena whose queen Yaśodevī (v. 14) bore a son Vijayasena by name (v. 15). Vijayasena defeated Nānya, Vīra and the kings of Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa and Kāliṅga (v. 20); and imprisoned Nānya, Rāghava, Vardhana and Vīra (v. 21). He also led a naval expedition along the course of the Ganges in order to conquer the kings of the west

¹ *Origin of the Bengali Script*, pp. 81-84.

(*pāśchātya-chakra*) (v. 22). Vijayasena built a temple of Pradyumneśvara of great height and grandeur (vv. 26-28) and excavated in the vicinity of it a tank (v. 29). The inscription now proceeds to give a description of the image set up within the temple (vv. 30-31) and finally introduces the composer of the *praśasti*, the poet Umāpatidhara (v. 35), and the artist who engraved it, Rānaka Sūlapāṇi:—‘the crest-jewel of the guild of artizans of Varendrī,’ son of Brihaspati, grandson of Manadāsa and great-grandson of Dharmma (v. 36).

The question of the caste of the Senas is interesting. In verse 4 of the Mādhānagar grant Sāmantasena is described as *Karṇnāṭa-kshatriyāṇām kulāśirodāma*. In verse 5 of the present record he is called *Brahma-kshatriya-kulāśirodāma*, which epithet could not be correctly interpreted by Professor Kielhorn. He translated it as: “the head-garland of the clans of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas.” The correct interpretation of this expression was first suggested by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar¹ whose translation ‘the head-garland of the Brahmakshatri caste’ was accepted by Vincent A. Smith.² It thus appears that the Senas belonged to the Brahmakshatri caste,³ a fact which is of considerable significance. That they were originally connected with the Karṇnāṭa country follows not only from their being called Karṇnāṭa-kshatriyas in the Mādhānagar grant but also from the fact recorded in the present epigraph that Sāmantasena waged war with the enemies of Karṇnāṭa.⁴

The title *mahārājñī* (‘great queen’) assumed by Hemantasena’s wife indicates that probably it was he who established Sena supremacy in Bengal and this view is strengthened by the fact that in the Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena the title *Mahārājādhirāja* is given first to Hemantasena.

Of the princes defeated by Vijayasena, Nānya has been identified by Professor Kielhorn with Nānyadeva, the founder of the Karṇnāṭaka dynasty of Nepal. He began to reign at Simraon in Tirhut and later on annexed Nepal.⁵ His date Śaka 1021 i. e. 1097 A. D. occurs in a Ms. in the library of the German Oriental Society at Berlin and this is supported by a tradition current

¹ *J. A. S. B.* 1909, pp. 167-87. Cf. also M. Chakravarti, *J. A. S. B.*, 1905, p. 50. A writer already made the above suggestion in a Bengali article in 1899.—*Ātīhasik Chitra*, Vol. I, part III, pp. 427-28.

² *Early History of India*, 3rd. Ed., pp. 419-20.

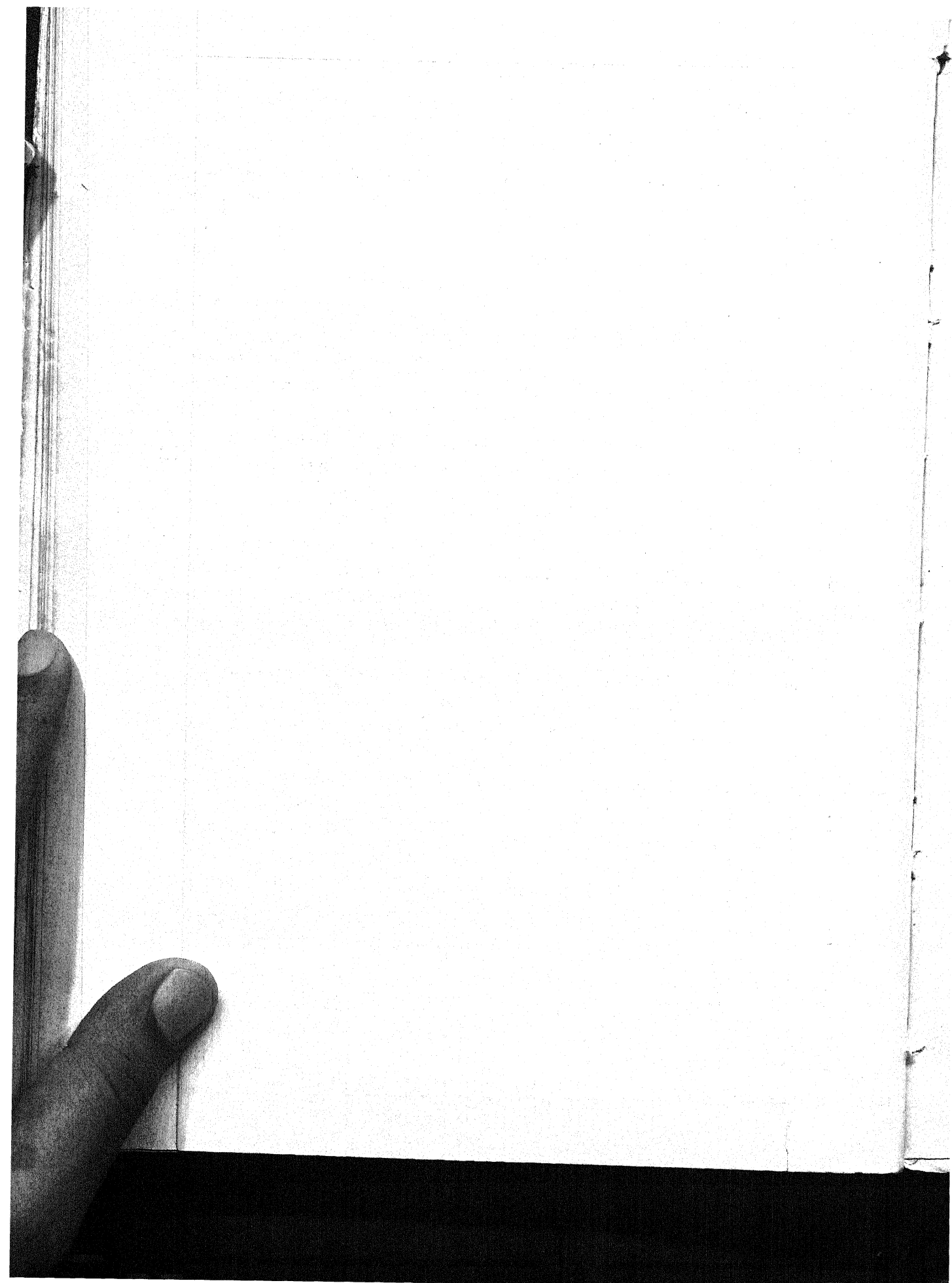
³ See Bhandarkar’s remarks, *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 35. He shows that no less than five royal families were designated Brahma-kshatri. The term was applied to ‘those who were Brahmanas first and became Kshatriyas afterwards’ i. e., ‘those who exchanged their priestly for martial pursuits.’

⁴ Dr. R. G. Majumdar thinks that the Senas originally belonged to the Dharwar district (Bombay Presidency) which formed a part of the Karṇnāṭa country.—*Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference* (Calcutta 1923), pp. 343 ff.

⁵ *J. A. S. B.*, 1915, p. 411.

[illegible]

4
8
12
16
20
24
28
32



in Tirhut.¹ An inscription belonging to his reign has been recently discovered at Andhara-Thārī in the Darbhanga district.² As regards Rāghava, Vincent Smith³ considers that he was a ruler of Kalinga and flourished *circa* 1156 A. D. Vīra and Vardhana have been identified by some respectively with Viraguṇa of Koṭāṭavī and Vardhana of Kauśāmbī, who appear in the *Rāmacharita* as contemporaries of Rāmapāla.⁴

The poet Umāpatidara⁵ describes himself as *pada-padārtha-vichāra-suddha-buddhi*, i.e. 'one whose knowledge is made accurate by the study of words and their meanings'. According to Pischel this is supported by Jayadeva's remark in verse 4 of *Gītagovinda* (*vāchah pallavayaty = Umāpatidharah*) i. e. 'Umāpati makes his words sprout.' After a careful analysis of the inscription Pischel concludes that Umāpati's perfect mastery in the handling of words is manifest even in this short composition of 36 verses.⁶ In Merutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*⁷ he appears as the minister of Lakshmanasena, 'king of Gauḍa' and several stanzas composed by him are quoted. Besides these, he is known also from a number of anthological works, for instance, the *Sūktikarnāmrīta*, *Subhāshita-muktāvalī* and the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati*, which ascribe the authorship of about one hundred verses to him. Monmohan Chakravarti⁸ has pointed out that of the verses quoted in the *Sūktikarnāmrīta* four are taken from the Deopārā inscription (viz. verses 7, 23, 24 and 30), and as I have shown below, one of the verses attributed to Umāpati in this anthology occurs also in the Mādhānagar copper-plate.

The engraver Śūlapāṇi is described as the 'crestjewel' of *Vārendrakaśīpi-goshṭhī* which has been translated as 'the guild of Vārendra artists'. It is not sure whether by this expression we are to understand that there was a regular guild or association of artists in Varendra or North Bengal. A passage in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* as translated by W. L. Heeley (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 102) from Schiefner's German translation of the Tibetan Text contains a reference to the existence of the 'Eastern School of Art' 'headed by Bitpālo, son of Dhīmān, who flourished in Varendra country during the reign of Devapāla and Dharmapāla (Smith, *History of*

¹ Pischel, *Kat. d. Bibl. d. D. M. G.*, Vol. II (Leipzig 1881), p. 8; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IX, pt. III and IV, p. 34. Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1915, p. 409.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IX, pt. III and IV p. 302.

³ *Early History of India*, 3rd. Ed., p. 419.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 174-75.

⁵ See references cited by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 305-6 and p. 306, n. 3 and especially Pischel's monograph 'Die Hofdichter des Lakshmanasena' (Abhand. d. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss., Göttingen 1893).

⁶ Pischel, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17.

⁷ Tawney's translation, Intro., p. XVIII, and p. 181, n. 4; also Pischel, *op. cit.*

⁸ 'Sanskrit Literature in Bengal during Sena rule'—*J. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 160.

Fine Art, p. 305). Another account of these two artists which very much corresponds to that given by Tāranātha is found in the *Pag-sam-zon-jang*.¹ Neither of these two accounts mentions, however, that the school to which Bitpālo belonged was called 'the Vārendra School'.² And what is more interesting to observe is that the *Pag-sam* substitutes 'Nalendra' for Tāranātha's 'Varendra'. Thus no definite evidence is yet forthcoming which justifies us to take the expression *Vārendraka-sīlpigoshthi* in the restricted sense of a 'guild', properly so called, of the artists of Varendra. The word *goshthi* I have taken here in a general sense, meaning 'multitude', although it is not impossible that the word really denotes a 'guild.'

TEXT.

- 1 ॐ³ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥
 'वक्षोशुकाहरणसाध्वसकृष्टमौलिमाख्य ऋटाहतरतालयदीपभासः ।
 देव्यास्त्रपामुकुलितं मुखमिन्द्रभाभिर्वीक्ष्याननानि हसितानि जयन्ति शम्भोः ॥ [1*]
 'लक्ष्मीवल्लभ-
- 2 शैलजादयितयोरद्वैतलोलागृहं प्रद्युम्नेश्वरशब्दलाञ्छनमधिष्ठानं नमस्कृच्छे । यत्रा-
 लिङ्गनभङ्गकातरत[या] स्थित्वान्तरे कान्तयोर्द्वैतौभ्यां कथमप्यभिन्नतनुताशिल्येऽन्तरायः
 कृतः ॥ [2*] 'यत्सिंहासनमौश्वर-
- 3 स्य कनकप्रायं जटामण्डलं गङ्गाशीकरमञ्जरोपरिकरै र्यञ्चामरप्रक्रिया । श्वेतोत्फुल्लफणाञ्चलः
 शिवशिरःसन्दानदामोरगच्छत्तं यस्य जयत्यसावचरमो राजा सुधादोधितिः ॥ [3*] 'वंशे
 तस्यामरस्त्रीवि-
- 4 ततरतकलासाक्षिणो दाक्षि णाल्य-क्षीणौन्द्रे वीरसेन-प्रभृतिभिरभितः कीर्त्तिमङ्गि-
 व्यभूवे । यच्चारितानुचिन्तापरिचयशुचयः सूक्तिमाध्वीकधाराः पाराशर्येण विश्वश्रवण-
 परिसरप्रीणनाय प्रणीताः ॥ [4*] 'तस्मिन् से-
- 5 नान्ववाये प्रतिसुभटशतोत्सादनब्रह्मवादी स ब्रह्मक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम
 सामन्तसेनः । उन्नयन्ते यदीयाः खलदुदधिजलोल्लोलीतेषु सेतोः कच्छान्तेष्वप-
 सरोभिर्दृशयतनयस्यर्द्धया युद्धगाथाः ॥ [5*]

¹ I am indebted to Mr. J. van Manen for a literal translation of the two passages in question from block prints of the original Tibetan.

² Evidently depending on Tāranātha's statement Mr. A. K. Maitra says that Dhīmān and his son Bitapāla reflected great creative genius in 'the art of Gauda' (Introduction to *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. vi). There is nothing in support of this assertion. See Kumar, 'A Note on the Bengal School of Artists,' *J. A. S. B.*, 1916, pp. 26-27.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

⁷ Metre : Sragdharā.

⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸ Metre : Sragdharā.

- 6 ¹यस्मिन् सङ्गरचत्वरे पटुरटत्तूर्योपहृतद्विषद्वर्गो येन कृपाणकालभुजगः खेलायितः
पाणिना । द्वैधीभूतविपक्षकुञ्जरघटाविस्मिष्टकुम्भस्थलोमुक्तास्थूलवराटिकापरिकरैर्व्वर्गं
तदद्याप्यभूत् ॥ [6*]
- 7 ²गृहादगृहमुपागतं व्रजति पत्तनं पत्तनादनादनमनुद्रुतं भ्रमति पादपं पादपात् ।
गिरेर्गिरिमधिश्रितन्तरति तोयधन्तोयधेयं दीयमरिसुन्दरीसरकपृष्ठलग्नं यशः ॥
[7*] ³दुर्व्वृत्तानामयमरि-
- 8 कुलाकीर्णकस्माटलक्ष्मीलुण्ठकानां कदनमतनोत्तादृगीकाङ्गवोरः । यस्मादद्याप्यविहृतव-
सामान्समेदःसुभिक्षां⁴ हृथत्पौरस्थजति न दिशं दक्षिणां प्रे[त]भर्ता ॥ [8*]
⁵उद्गन्धोन्याज्यधूमैर्भृगुशिशुरसिता खिन्न-
- 9 वैखानसस्त्री-स्तन्यक्षोराणि कीरप्रकरपरिचितव्रह्मपारायणानि । येनासेव्यन्त शेषे वयसि
भवभयास्कन्दिभिर्मस्करोद्भैः पूर्व्वोत्सङ्गानि गङ्गापुलिनपरिसरारण्यपुण्याश्रमाणि ॥ [9*]
⁶अचरमपरमात्मज्ञानभौ-
- 10 आदमुष्मात्रिजभुजमदमत्तारातिमाराङ्गवोरः । अभवदनवनानोद्भिन्ननिर्षिक्ततत्तद्गुण-
निवहमहिम्नां वेश्म हेमन्तसेनः ॥ [10*] ⁷मूर्धन्यर्द्धेन्दुचूडामणिचरणरजः सत्य-
वाक्कण्ठभित्तौ शास्त्रं श्रोत्रेरि-
- 11 केशाः पदभुवि भुजयोः क्रूरमौर्व्वीकिणाङ्गः । नेपथ्यं यस्य जज्ञे सततमियदिदं रत्नपुष्पाणि
हारास्ताडङ्गं नूपुरस्रक्कनकवलयमप्यस्य भृत्याङ्गनानाम् ॥ [11*] ⁸यद्दोर्व्वल्लिविलास-
लब्धगतिभिः शल्यैर्व्विदीर्क्षोरसां
- 12 वीराणां रणतीर्थ्यैर्भववशाद्विष्यं वपुर्व्विभ्रताम् । संसक्तामरकामिनीस्तनतटी-
काश्मीरपक्षाङ्कितं वक्षः प्रागिव सुग्धसिद्धमिधुनैः सातङ्गमालोकितम् ॥ [12*] ⁹प्रत्यर्थि-
व्ययकेलिकर्मणि पुरः स्मेरं मुखं विभ्रतो रे-
- 13 तस्यैतदसेष कौशलमभूद्दाने द्वयोरदभुतम् । शत्रोः कोपि दधेऽवसादमपरः सख्युः प्रसादं
व्यधादेको हारमुपाजहार सुहृदामन्यः प्रहारं द्विषाम् ॥ [13*] ¹⁰महाराज्ञी यस्य स्वपर-
निखिलान्तःपुरवधू-
- 14 शिरोरत्नश्रेणीकिरणसरणिस्मेरचरणा । निधिः कान्ते[ः] साध्वीव्रतविततनित्योज्ज्वलयशा
यशोदेवौ नाम त्रिभुवनमनोज्ञाकृतिरभूत् ॥ [14*] ¹¹ततस्त्रिजगदीश्वरात् समजनेष्ट¹²
देव्यास्ततोप्यरातिवलशतनोज्ज्व-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Read *māmsa*.⁷ Metre: Śragdharā.¹⁰ Metre: Śikharinī.² Metre: Prithvī.⁵ Metre: Śragdharā.⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹¹ Metre: Prithvī.³ Metre: Mandākrāntā.⁶ Metre: Mālinī.⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Read *samajanishṭa*.

- 15 लकुमारकेलिक्रमः । चतुर्जलधिमेखलावलयसोमविश्वभरा-विशिष्टजयसान्वयो विजयसेन
पृथ्वीपतिः ॥ [15*] ¹गणयतु गणशः को भूपतींस्ताननेन प्रतिदिनरणभाजा ये जिता
वा हता वा । इह जगति विषे-
- 16 हे स्वस्य वंशस्य पूर्वः पुरुष इति सुधांशी केवलं राजशब्दः ॥ [17*] ²संख्यातीतकपीन्द्र-
सैन्यविभुना तस्यारिजितुस्तुलां किं रामेण वदाम पाण्डवचमूनाथेन पार्थेन वा । हेतोः
खड्गलतावतंसितभुजामात(त्र)स्य येनार्जितं सप्ता-
- 17 शोधितटीपिनद्धवसुधाचक्रैकराज्यं फलम् ॥ [17*] ³एकैकेन गुणेन यैः परिणतं तेषां
विवेकादृते कश्चिद्वन्यपरश्च रक्षति सृजत्यन्यश्च कृत्स्नं जगत् । देवोयं तु गुणैः कृतो
बहुतियैर्बर्मान् जघान⁴ द्विषो वृत्तस्थानपुष्पचकार च
- 18 रिपूच्छेदेन दिव्याः प्रजाः ॥ [18*] ⁵दत्त्वा दिव्यभुवः प्रतिक्षितिभृतामुर्वीमुरौकुर्वता
वीरासृग्लिपिलाञ्छितोऽसिरमुना प्रागेव पक्षीकृतः । नेत्यं चेत् कथमन्यथा वसुमतौ
भोगे विवादोन्मुखी तत्राकृष्टकृपाणधारिणि गता भ-
- 19 इं द्विषां सन्ततिः ॥ [19*] ⁶त्वं नान्य-वीर-विजयीति गिरः कवीनां श्रुत्वाऽन्यथा-
मननरूढनिगूढरोषः । गौडेन्द्रमद्रवदपाकृत कामरूपभूपं कलिङ्गमपि यस्तरसा
जिगाय ॥ [20*] ⁷शूरंमन्य इवासि नान्य किमिह स्वं राघव स्याधसे स्य-
- 20 इं वर्द्धन सुच वीर विरतो नाद्यापि दर्पस्तव । इत्यन्योन्यमहर्निशप्रणयिभिः
कोलाहलैः क्षामुजां यत्कारागृह्यामिकैर्नियमितो निद्रापनोदकृतः ॥ [21*] ⁸पाञ्चात्य-
चक्रजयकेलिषु यस्य यावद्गङ्गाप्रवाहमनुधावति
- 21 नौ-विताने । भर्गस्य मौलिसरिदम्भसि भस्मपङ्कलग्नोज्झितेव तरिरिन्दुकला चकास्ति ॥
[22*] ⁹मुक्ताः कर्पांसवीजैर्भरकतशकलं शाकपत्रैरलाबूपुष्पै रूपाणि रत्नं परिणतिभिदुरे
कुक्षिभिर्द्वाङ्गिमानाम् । कुष्माण्डीवल्लरीण¹⁰ वि-
- 22 कसितकुसुमैः काञ्चनं नागरोभिः शिच्यन्ते यत्प्रसादाद्बहुविभवजुषां योषितः श्रोत्रिया-
णाम् ॥ [23*] ¹¹अश्रान्तविश्राणितयज्ञयूपस्तम्भावलीं द्रागवलम्बमानः । यस्यानुभावाद-
भुवि सञ्चचार कालक्रमादेकपदोपि धर्मः ॥ [24*] ¹²मेरोरा-
- 23 हतवैरिसङ्कुलतटादाह्वय यज्वामरान् व्यत्यासं पुरवासिनामकृत यः स्वर्गस्य मर्त्तस्य
च । उत्तुङ्गैः सुरसन्नभिश्च विततैस्तल्लैश्च शेषीकृतं चक्रे येन परस्परस्य च समं द्यावा-
पृथिव्योर्व्वपुः ॥ [25*] ¹³दिक् शाखामूलकाण्डं गगनतलम-

¹ Metre : Mālinī.⁴ Read *dhīmān* = *jaghāna*.⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁰ Read *-nām*.¹³ Metre : Sragdharā. In this verse Kielhorn takes *dik-sākhāmūlakāṇḍam* as one compound and so also *gaganatalamahāmbhōdhimadhyanāntariyam*. The above arrangement gives however a better sense. Cf. my translation below.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹¹ Metre : Indravajrā.³ Metre : 'Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Metre : Vasantatilaka.⁹ Metre : Sragdharā.¹² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 24 हाभोधि मध्यान्तरीयं भानोः प्राक्प्रत्यगद्विस्थितिमिलदुदयास्तस्य मध्याह्नशैलम् । आलम्ब-
स्तम्भमेकं त्रिभुवनभवनस्यैकशेषं गिरीणां स प्रद्युम्नेश्वरस्य व्यधित वसुमतीवासवः
सौधमुच्चैः ॥ [26*] ¹प्रासादेन तवामुनैव हरितामध्वा
- 25 निरुद्धो मुधा भानोद्यापि कृतोस्ति दक्षिणदिशः कोणान्तवासी मुनिः । अन्यामुच्छपथोय-
मुच्छतु दिशं विन्ध्योप्यसौ वहंतां यावच्छक्तिं तथापि नास्य पदवीं सौधस्य गाह्यते ॥
[27*] ²स्रष्टा यदि स्रज्यति भूमिचक्रे सुमेरुमृत्पिण्डविवर्त्तनाभिः ।
- 26 तदा घटः स्यादुपमानमस्मिन् सुवर्षं कुम्भस्य तदप्यितस्य ॥ [28*] ³विलेशयविलासिनी-
मुकुटकोटिरत्नाङ्कुर-स्फुरत्किरणमञ्जरीच्छुरितवारिपूरं पुरः । चखान पुरवैरिणः स
जलमग्न-
- 27 पौराङ्गना-स्तनैणमदसोरभोजलितचञ्चरीकं सरः ॥ [29*] ⁴उच्चित्राणि दिगम्बरस्य
वसनान्यर्द्धाङ्गनास्त्रामिनो रत्नालङ्कृतिभिर्विशेषितवपुः शोभाः शतं सुभ्रुवः । पौराङ्गाश्च
पुरीः श्मशानवसते भिक्षाभु-
- 28 जोस्याक्षयां लक्ष्मीं स व्यतनोहरिद्रभरणे सुज्ञो हि सैनान्वयः ॥ [30*] ⁵चित्तक्षीमेभचम्पा
हृदयविनिहितस्थूलहारोरगेन्द्रः श्रीखण्डचोदभस्मा करमिलितमहानीलरत्नाक्षमालः ।
वेषस्तेनास्य तेने गरुडमणिलतागोन-
- 29 सः कान्तमुक्ता-नेपथ्यनस्थिरिच्छासमुचितरचनः कल्पकापालिकस्य ॥ [31*] ⁶बाह्योः
केलिभिरद्वितीयकनकच्छत्रं धरित्रीतलं कुर्व्याणेन न पर्यशेषि किमपि स्वेनैव तेनेहितम् ।
किन्तस्मै दिशतु प्रसन्नवरदोष्यर्द्धन्दुमौलिः
- 30 परं स्वं सायुज्यमसावपश्चिमदशाशिषे पुनर्हास्यति ॥ [32*] ⁷प्रस्तोतुमस्य परितश्चरितं
क्षमः स्यात् प्राचेतसो यदि पराशरनन्दनो वा तत्कीर्त्तिपूरसुरसिन्धुविगाहनेन वाचः
पवित्रयितुमत्र तु नः प्रयत्नः ॥ [33*] ⁸यावद्वास्तोस्यति-
- 31 पुरघुनी भूर्भुवः स्वः पुनीते यावच्चान्द्री कलयति कलोत्तंसतां भूतभर्तुः । यावच्चेतो
गमयति सतां श्वेतिमानं त्रिवेदी तावत्तासां रचयतु सखी तत्तदेवास्य कीर्त्तिः ॥ [34*]
⁹निर्षिक्तसेनकुलभूपति-मोक्तिकानामग्रन्यलग्र-¹⁰
- 32 यनपक्षलसूत्रवक्त्रिः । एषा कवेः पदपदार्थविचारशुद्धबुद्धेरुमापतिधरस्य कृतिः
प्रशस्तिः ॥ [35*] ¹¹धर्म्मोप्रणप्ता¹² मनदास-नप्ता बृहस्पतेः स्रुरिमां प्रशस्तिं ।
चखान वारेन्द्रक-शिल्पिगोष्ठीचूडामणौ राणकशूलपाणिः ॥ [36]

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Metre : Upajāti.³ Metre : Prithvī.⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre : Sragdharā.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metre : Vāsāttilaka.⁸ Metre : Mandākrāntā.⁹ Metre : Vāsāttilaka.¹⁰ Read *mauktikānām*.¹¹ Metre : Upajāti.¹² Read *Dharmma*—Kielhorn remarksthat at first *Dharmmo* was engraved, but it was later on changed into *Dharmma*. The reading *Dharmmo* which is wrong for *Dharmma* is however clear and in the original there are no traces of any alteration.

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Om ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1). May the (five) faces of Sambhu triumph—faces that smile looking at the (*lotus like*)¹ countenance of the Goddess in moonbeams, contracting like a bud in bashfulness, (*when*) through fright at the removal of her breast-cloth she pulls down the wreath from her head and with its brilliance casts into gloom the light of her “pleasure-chamber”.²

(Verse 2). We bow down to the temple called by the name Pradyumneśvara, that abode of the playful union⁴ of the beloved of Lakshmi and the husband of Mountain’s daughter,⁵ where, because of the apprehension of the cessation of embrace the two goddesses have taken stand between their lovers and thus somehow interfered with the complete union of bodies, (*at least*) in its representation in art.⁶

(Verse 3). May that primeval king triumph—the nectar-rayed one (Moon) who is enthroned within the golden circle of the matted hair of Īśvara ; to whom fly-whisk is swung by the multitude of spray-clusters of the waves of the Ganges ; and whose umbrella is the serpent, encircling Śiva’s head, having the white and expanded hoods as the borders of its canopy.

(Verse 4). In the line of that Witness of the continuous amorous wiles of the wives of the gods, there were born Virasena and others, who were kings of the Deccan, having all-pervading⁸ fame. The honey-stream of beautiful stanzas, which the son of Parāśara (*i.e.* Vyāsa) had caused to flow to please the ears of mankind, was made pure coming in contact with the memory of their achievements.

(Verse 5). In that Sena family was born that head-garland of the Brahmakshatriya (caste)⁹, Sāmantasena who was versed in the mystic

¹ The use of the significant word *mukulita* which is applicable to a flower and the proximity of the word *indubhābhik* suggest that the poet is here reminded of the lotus which closes in moon light.

² The verse means that Devī is covering her nudity with a wreath. The ‘pleasure-chamber’ (*ratālaya*) is, of course, *puṇḍrum muleibre* which according to the Tāntrikas is the seat of effulgence.

³ “We adore the (*deity*) designated Pradyumneśvara.”—Kielhorn. But the reference is certainly to the temple of Pradyumneśvara (*adhishṭhāna*), a view that is supported by the use of the word *yatra*, ‘where.’

⁴ There is evidently a *śleṣha* in *advaita-līlā-griha*. If the word *advaita* qualifies *līlā* the meaning would be ‘the abode of mutual blending’ ; if however it qualifies *līlā-griha* it would mean ‘the unique place of manifestation’ (of Hari and Hara).

⁵ I. E. Hari and Hara.

⁶ They could not arrest the real blending of the two deities in spirit. They could somehow do so only in its representation by the artist. This has reference probably to the original image in which Hari and Hara were attended with their wives. Cf. verses in the section *kāntāśahita-Hariharan* in *Saduktikarnāṃṛita*, pp. 44-45.

⁷ The son of Nala, Virasena is probably meant.

⁸ ‘Famous on both (their parents’) sides’—Kielhorn. I take however *abhitaḥ* in the sense of ‘everywhere.’

⁹ See remarks above p. 44.

lore¹ of the extermination of all opposing soldiers, and whose war-ballads were sung, rivalling with (*those of*) the son of Daśaratha, by heavenly nymphs, along the borders of the Bridge² cooled by the dancing of the waters of the ocean.

(Verse 6). In the field (lit. courtyard) of battle when his enemies, invited by the shrill-sounding drums, used to appear, he would by his hand play with the sword resembling the serpent of death.³ That place is still strewn over with myriads of pearls (*which are like*) big cowries⁴ (*emanated*) from the cleft frontal globes of the scattered elephants of his opponents.

(Verse 7). His fame following (lit. which stuck to the back of) the caravan of the wives of his enemies (*who were humbled*) reached one house after another, travelled from town to town, ran from wood to wood, moved from tree to tree, ascended mountain after mountain and crossed sea after sea.⁵

(Verse 8). This hero who resembled Viṣṇu⁶ slaughtered to such an extent the wicked despoilers of the Lakṣmī (i.e. wealth) of **Karṇāṭa**, assailed by bands of enemies, that the lord of goblins,⁷ whose citizens are delighted, does not even to this day leave the southern quarter⁸ where the excellent supply of marrow, flesh and fat remains yet undiminished.

(Verse 9). In his last days he frequented the sacred hermitages situated in forests on the banks of the Ganges, which were full of renowned ascetics fighting against the terrors of rebirth. These (hermitages) were fragrant with the smoke of sacrificial butter. Here the young deer rejoiced in the milk of the breasts of kind-hearted hermit-wives and the multitude of parrots were familiar with the entire text of the Vedas.⁹

(Verse 10). From him, who was a Bhīṣma¹⁰ in his unrivalled knowledge of the Supreme Soul, was born **Hemantasena** who played the role of the hero

¹ Kielhorn translates *Brahmavādī* as 'magician'. But the idea of a magician is not supported by any other expression used in the verse. The king appears in that role in the next. Here probably it is indicated that Sām-antasena was as much Brāhmaṇa as Kṣatriya, thus bringing out the etymological meaning of *Brahma-Kṣatriya* i. e. Brāhmaṇa as well as Kṣatriya.

² I. E. Setubandha-Rāmeśvara. ³ He plays the part of a snake-charmer

⁴ What is probably intended is that pearls were considered as insignificant and valueless as cowries.

⁵ Cf. *bhrāmyanti pratipattanam pratigriham pratyaganam yad-guṇāḥ* Halāyudha, *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, Introductory verse, 18.

⁶ The expression *ekāṅga-vīraḥ* could not be properly translated by Kielhorn. He took it as meaning 'This hero, singly' and said 'I am not sure that this is the exact meaning of the word *ekāṅga* of the original; but *ekāṅga-vīra* looks as if it were intentionally employed in opposition to *chaturāṅga-bala*' (*op. cit.*, p. 312, n. 51). But *Ekāṅga* is a name of Viṣṇu (see Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s. v.) and this meaning suits the context very well.

⁷ I. E. Yama.

⁸ Yama is the lord of the South (*Ep. Myth.*, p. 108). The poet explains why Yama remains confined for ever to that quarter.

⁹ Cf. *jagur=yrihe=bhyaṣṭa-samasta-vāṅmayaiḥ sa-sārikaiḥ pañjaravarttibhiḥ sukaiḥ*—*Kādambarī* (Peterson's ed.), Intro. verse 12.

¹⁰ 'Who inspired awe by his unrivalled knowledge of the Supreme spirit.'—Kielhorn.

in the war with his adversaries proud in the strength of their own arms,¹ and was the abode as it were of the glories of unceasingly manifested and spotless virtues of every kind.

(Verse 11). On his head—the dust of the feet of the half-moon-crested (*god*),² in his throat—true speech, in his ear—the sacred texts, at his feet—the hairs of his enemies and on his arms—the marks of the scars made by the tough bowstring : always this much was his decoration. Flowers made of precious stones, necklaces, ear-rings, anklets, garlands and golden bracelets were worn only by the wives of his servants.

(Verse 12). When heroes, having their chests rent by the spears gaining momentum from the play of his long arms, assumed divine bodies³ through the merit accrued in a holy place like the field of battle,⁴ their breasts marked with the saffron lines on the breasts of heavenly damsels clinging to them, were viewed with fear, as before,⁵ by timid Siddha couples.

(Verse 13). By him who assumed smiling countenance in play-like expense in respect of suplicants⁶ and also his sword (which acted in the same manner in the play-like destruction of opponents), wonderful skill was exhibited in the bestowal of gifts. The one brought exhaustion to the enemies, the other favours to the allies ; the one was the source of presents of necklaces to the allies, the other that of blows to the enemies.

(Verse 14). His 'Great Queen' was Yaśodevī by name. Her feet were made lustrous by the series of rays of the lines of jewels on the heads of the ladies of the inner apartments of (*both*) friends and enemies ; she was a store-house of loveliness, and owing to devotion to her husband, acquired wide, eternal and bright fame. She gained the heart of the three worlds by her (*beautiful*) form.

(Verse 15). From that Lord of the three worlds and that queen was born the ruler of the earth, Vijayasena whose path of youthful sports was brightened by the destruction (lit. whetting) of the power of enemies. He became

¹ Kielhorn is doubtful about the meaning of the passage *nija-bhuja-mada-matt-ārati-mārāṅka-vīrah* and translates *mārāṅkavīrah* as 'a hero whose characteristic it was to destroy (?)'. Pischel shows that *mārāṅka* is used also in *Gitagovinda*, XII, v. 4 where one scholiast has explained it as a kind of amorous fight. He thinks that *mārāṅkavīra* would here be an equivalent of *yuddhavīra* (*Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena*, p. 19). Cf. *ripu-chamū-mār-āṅka-malla-vratah* used regarding the same person in the Mādhānagar grant, verse 5.

² I. E. Śiva.

³ Heroes killed in battle are believed to attain Heaven.

⁴ Kielhorn translates 'through the efficacy of battle, resembling a holy bathing place.'

⁵ Though the red paint took the place of blood the Siddhas thought that blood was still gushing out of the bodies of heroes, as in the battle field where they were slain.

⁶ In the original there is only *pratyaṛthi-vyaya-keli-karmmaṇi* which, as Kielhorn points out, has a double meaning. The word *pratyaṛthi* means 'suplicants' as well as 'opponents' and *vyaya* both 'expense' and 'destruction'. In this verse there is a pedantic play on the words *hāra* and *sāda* with the help of different prepositions.

worthy of his name because of his having 'completely conquered'¹ the earth bounded by the circle of the zone of the four oceans.

(Verse 16). Who could count the hosts of kings that were either defeated or killed by him, everyday engaged in battle? In this world, he tolerated only the Moon to assume the title of 'king,' because the Moon was the first member of his own line.²

(Verse 17). How could we say that Rāma, the leader of the numberless soldiers of the monkey-king or Pārtha, the leader of the Pāṇḍava army, was comparable to that conqueror of enemies who, by his mere arm adorned with the sword, gained the fruit of Universal Sovereignty over the kingdom of the earth girt by the Seven Seas?

(Verse 18). Of those (*gods*)³ who have reached perfection individually in a particular quality, one destroys, another preserves and the third creates the whole world, indiscriminately; but this (king) was deified by reason of his having possessed many qualities.⁴ Endowed with a power of discrimination, he destroyed his enemies, preserved the virtuous and by the extirpation of his enemies created celestial beings.

(Verse 19). By him, who gave away land in Heaven to his rival princes and accepted (*from them*) the earth (*in return*), the sword-blade marked with writing in the blood of heroes was made to serve the purpose of a document as it were in anticipation; otherwise, how would Earth come to be enjoyed by him when there arose disputes regarding her, and on presenting his drawn sword (*from its sheath*) the host of his opponents would admit defeat.⁵

(Verse 20). "You are the conqueror of Nānya and Vīra,"—hearing these words of the poets he took them in a different sense⁶ and his secret rage was aroused, (*whereupon*) he quickly made the king of Gauda to flee, drove away⁷ the king of Kāmarūpa and defeated the king of Kalinga.

(Verse 21). "Oh! Nānya! you seem to think that you are a hero!" "Oh! Rāghava! why do you boast of yourself here?" "Oh! Vardhana! give

¹ Here is a play on the root meaning of *vijaya*.

² This verse is partially quoted in the Mādhānagar grant as was first pointed out by Prassanna Narayan Chaudhuri (*Āitihasik-Chitra*, Vol. I, pt. III, p. 424) and then by R. D. Banerji (*J. A. S. B.*, 1909, p. 469). Cf. *rāj. = eti-nāma śaśalakṣmaṇi cakṣame yaḥ*. —Khairha plates of Yaśah-Karṇadeva, *Ep.*, *Indt* Vol. XII, p. 211, v. 5.

³ Viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara.

⁴ He possesses all the three qualities (viz. creation, preservation and destruction) and thus attains a position superior to that of any of the three gods. He has also proper discrimination which they lack. The word *dhīmān* is contrasted with *vivekāḍ = rīte*.

⁵ By introducing the legal terms *patra* ('document' or 'deed') and *vivāda* ('suit', 'dispute') the poet suggests that the king was engaged as if in a land suit in which he came out victorious on the strength of the sword which served the purpose of the necessary document. Cf. *vivāde = nvishyate patram* etc.

⁶ Viz. *na-ānya-vīra-vijayt*, i. e., 'conqueror of not-other hero.'

⁷ Kielhorn translates 'put down'. For the meaning of *apa-kṛi* ('to drive away') see M. Williams, *s.v.*

up your spirit of emulation !” “Oh ! Vira ! your arrogance is still unabated !”—this was the sort of noise that arose day and night, from amongst the princes (*imprisoned by him*) and it minimised the weary task of the watchmen of his prison-house of keeping off sleep.

(Verse 22). When his fleet in its play of conquest of the dominions in the west advanced along the course of the Ganges, his boat shone like the crescent-moon up on the water of the river on Śiva's head, often stuck in the mud of ashes and often released.¹

(Verse 23). Through his grace the Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas have become the possessors of so much wealth that their wives have to be trained by the wives of the townspeople (*to recognise*) pearls, pieces of emerald, silver coins, jewels and gold from their similarity respectively with seeds of cotton, leaves of *sāka*, bottle-gourd flowers, the developed seeds of pomegranates and the blooming flowers of the creepers of pumpkin-gourd (*Beninkasa Cerifera*).

(Verse 24). He was never tired of offering sacrifices ; and through his power Dharma, though she had become one-legged in the course of time, could move about on the earth, quickly taking the help of the rows of sacrificial pillars.²

(Verse 25). That sacrificer calling down the immortals from the slopes of Meru full of the enemies killed by himself brought about an interchange of the inhabitantants of heaven and earth.³ (*For*) by (*the construction of*) lofty ‘houses of gods’ (i. e. temples) and by (*the excavation of*) extensive lakes the areas of both heaven and earth were reduced and thus they were made similar to one another.

(Verse 26). That Indra of the earth built a lofty edifice of Pradyumnēśvara, the wings, the plinth and the main structure of which occupied the several

¹ In interpreting this verse Kielhorn has mistaken the *upamāna* (‘crescent moon’) for the *upameya* (‘boat’), and translated: ‘The Moon’s crescent shines (*on Śiva’s head*) as if it were a boat stuck fast in the mud formed by ashes in the water of the river on Bharga’s crest and abandoned there’ which cannot be accepted. The poet is here giving a description of the king’s boat which he compares to the crescent moon on Śiva’s head ; that the moon should be compared here to a boat is out of the question. One of the moon’s epithets is *udupati*, *uḍu* meaning a boat (*Ep. Myth.*, p. 90). Just as the moon on Śiva’s head often sticks in the mud of ashes and then is released of it, so also the boat in course of that journey often stuck in mud and often was free from it. Kielhorn translates *ujjhita* as ‘abandoned.’ But there could be hardly any point in saying that the king’s boat was abandoned which would not be complimentary to him ; ‘free’ would be the proper translation. By using the word *keli* after *jaya* the poet perhaps wants to convey the idea that the expedition was nothing more than a water sport (*jala-keli*) to the king.

² For the same idea cf. *yāpāir=datta=kar-āvalambanatayā pāda=vyapekshā-chyutah Dharmo=ltr-aiva chatur-yuge=pi kalin=ānandaḥ parispandate* etc. in the Barnagar inscription of Kumārapāla, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 299.

³ He set up images of gods in temples ; thus the gods were brought down on earth. Again his enemies being killed became possessed of divine bodies and went up to heaven to live there. The interchange was thus brought about. Finally the tops of temples reaching upto heaven and the extensive lakes excavated by him on earth reduced their respective sizes and both being thus reduced in extent were similar to one another. Cf. Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 314, n. 61.

quarters, and the middle and the uppermost parts stretched over the great oceanlike space—(it is) the midday mountain of the rising and setting Sun who touches the Eastern and Western mountains, the supporting pillar of the house which is the three worlds and the one that remains of the mountains (i. e. the culminating point amongst mountains).¹

(Verse 27). Oh ! Sun ! now that the path of your horses is obstructed by this building it is in vain that you make the sage (Agastya) yet an inhabitant of a corner of the southern quarter. Let him break his agreement and repair to another quarter and the Vindhya rise to its utmost (height). Even then it will not be able to attain to the position of this temple !²

(Verse 28). If the creator would make a jar, turning on the wheel of the earth Sumeru like a lump of clay, then that would be an object with which could be compared the golden jar placed by him (i.e. the king) on (the top of) this (temple).³

(Verse 29). In front of (the temple of) the enemy of Pura, he excavated a lake filled with water (the surface of) which is marked with the flowers of rays emanating from the crores of jewel-bits on the coronets of Serpent (Nāga) ladies, and (to these flowers) are attracted bees on account of the musk on the breasts of citizens' wives who plunge into the water (for the purpose of bath).

(Verse 30). (The god had for his) clothes the sky⁴ and has (now) been provided with dresses of variegated colour. He (who) was the husband of only half a lady⁵ has been given a hundred beautiful females⁶ the charms of whose body are enhanced by (the wearing of) jewellery. His residence was the

¹ In this passage the temple has been compared with the Maināka mountain. It is said that Indra cut off the wings of all mountains, but he could not do so of Maināka who came last. He jumped into the sea and saved himself. Cf. *Kumārasambhava*, I, v. 20, which mentions the sea as his friend. See also M. Williams, s. v., 'Maināka' and *Ep. Myth.*, p. 9. The words *māhambhodhi* and *ekāśeṣa* used in the above verse are thus significant. The temple is represented as being situated in the sea of space just as the Maināka is situated in the midst of the sea. The words *śākhā*, *mūla*, *kāṇḍa*, *madhya*, and *antariya* are wellknown architectural terms and denote different parts of the temple, a fact entirely missed by Kielhorn. The last word *antariya* has been rendered by him as 'clad psets'. Cf. however such technical words as *antarita* (*Mayamata*, Triv. Ser., Ch. XIII, v. 13) *antiraka* and *antari* (*Siparatna*, Pt. I, Triv. Ser., Ch. XVIII, vv. 12 and 14) in the sense of the uppermost portion of a structure (see also Rāmāj, *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, p. 23). The epithet *Vasumatī-vāsava* i. e. Indra of Earth is also significant. Indra is one of the mythological teachers of *Vastuśāstra* (architecture).— *Matsyapurāṇa*, ch. 252, v. 2. For some of these architectural references I am indebted to Mr. Tārāpada Bhaṭṭāchārya, Govt. Research Scholar.

² About Agastya Kielhorn refers to *Raghu*, VI, v. 61 (*vindhyaśya samstambhayitā* etc.). Vindhya was rising higher and higher to obstruct the path of the sun (see Mallinātha's commentary on the verse), but Agastya when he went to the south stopped him. See Rāmāyaṇa, Nirṇayasāgara III, XI, 85.—*mārgam niroddhūm sataṭaṁ bhāskarasya*—*āchalottamaḥ saṁdeśaṁ pālayaṁśasya Vindhyaśaila na vardhate*. For a full description of Agastya's achievement see Holtzmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 589. Cf. also Govardhana's *Āryāsaptasatī*, v. 610 where Vindhya is described as *sambhāvita-ravi-ratha-stambhaḥ*.

³ The poet here brings in the simile of the creator with the potter. The jar surmounting the temple is the *amṛitakalasa*. Cf. *Brahmaṇḍa-kumbhakāram* in *Āryāsaptasatī*, v. 17.

⁴ Digambara is an epithet of Śiva. ⁵ *Ardhāṅganāśvāmin* or *Ardhanārīśvara* is an epithet of Śiva.

⁶ These are female attendants in the temple.

cremation-ground ; he has (*now*) been provided with palaces¹ full of citizens. He (*who*) subsisted on alms has been provided with a fortune. The Sena family knows well how to support the poor.

(Verse 31). He furnished according to his own taste² an attire for that wearer of skulls at the destruction of the universe, in which a piece of variegated silk took the place of the elephant hide, the thick necklace across his breast that of the lord of serpents, the sandal-powder that of ashes, a string of sapphires in his hand that of beads, the long emeralds that of snakes and the lovely pearls that of human bones.

(Verse 32). Of him who by the (*mere*) play of his arms has made the earth remain under one single umbrella no further desire is likely to be left unfulfilled. And what else will the Half-moon-crested one (i. e. Śiva) grant him, even if he is pleased ? Let it be only this—before the end of the last stage (*of life*) may (god) grant him communion with himself.

(Verse 33). A Vālmīki or a Vyāsa may be able to chant his deeds. What we strive for (*here*) is only to purify our speech by bathing it in the Heavenly river (i. e. the Ganges) of his fame.

(Verse 34). As long as the river of the city of Indra purifies the earth, the etherial space and the heaven ; as long as the crescent-moon serves as the head-ornament of the Lord of Evil beings (i. e. Śiva), as long as the three Vedas whiten (i. e. purify) the minds of the good—so long also may their friend, his Fame, engage herself in similar occupations.³

(Verse 35). This eulogy, a soft string made without knots, of the serene pearls, namely the kings of the Sena family, is the work of the poet Umāpatidhara whose knowledge has become accurate by a critical study of words and meanings of words.

(Verse 36). The Rāṇaka Śulapāṇi, who is the son of Brihaspati, grandson of Manadāsa and greatgrandson of Dharma, and who is the crest-jewel of the host (or guild) of artists of Varendra⁴ has engraved this eulogy.

¹ Kielhorn translates *paurādhyaś-cha puriḥ* as 'towns filled with citizens.' I take *puriḥ* in the sense of 'palatial buildings,' and it has in my opinion reference to the grand temple and its adjuncts dedicated to the god. Śiva is an ideal poverty-stricken person. He has neither clothes to wear, a house to live in, nor even a decent means of subsistence ! So one who wants to support such an indigent person must provide him with things that he is in urgent need of. Śiva was certainly in need of a house as he was living in the cremation ground. To say that 'towns' were given to him for residence, rather than a good house would sound absurd.

² 'The arrangement of which will suit the wishes of the wearer of the skulls' etc.—Kielhorn. It is more natural to take the dress as arranged according to the taste of the devotee who makes the deity wear it.

³ That is to say his fame will purify, decorate and whiten (cf. *yaśasi dhavalatā* etc.—*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII, 23.)

⁴ I. E. North Bengal.

VI. BARRACKPUR COPPER-PLATE OF VIJAYASENA.

This copper-plate was discovered some eighteen years ago in a village near Barrackpur Cantonment in the district of 24 Parganas by Mr. G. A. Schumacher, an assistant in the service of Messrs. Bird & Co. of Calcutta. The circumstances under which it was found are not known. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji the plate after being for some time in the hands of the late Mr. V. Venkayya in 1910, was sent to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner, and ultimately in 1915 Mr. Banerji discovered that it had found its way to England, where it is now probably in the possession of Mr. Schumacher. Mr. Banerji first referred to this grant in his *Bāṅglār Itihās* (First ed.), p. 291 and subsequently in his *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 105. In 1920 he edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 278 and ff and plates¹, and in 1921 Mr. R. G. Basak re-edited it in the now defunct Bengali Journal *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXXI (1328 B. S.), pp. 81 & ff.

This is a single plate engraved on both sides. The writing occupies a space of $12\frac{1}{2}$ " by $10\frac{1}{2}$ ", and the letters vary in size between $\frac{1}{2}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ".² It bears a seal³ containing a representation of Sadāśiva. The inscription consists of 50 lines of which twenty-four lines are incised on the obverse and twenty-six on the reverse. Owing to want of space the last few letters in ll. 49-50 are engraved in a smaller size than the preceding ones. The characters belong to a variety of the Northern alphabets which may be called the precursors of the modern Bengali as current towards the beginning of the 12th century A. D. The initial sign for *ri* occurs in *Rigveda* in l. 39. The *visarga* sign exhibits the older type consisting of two small circles in the majority of cases except a few in which circles are replaced by dots, e. g. in *pitribhiḥ* and *rekhaḥ* in l. 48. The *anusvāra* sign of the older type consisting of a circle is generally used with a few exceptions, e. g. in *viśthāyām* in l. 48 and *jagatām* in l. 13. The super-script *r* stroke is sometimes placed horizontally on the top of letters⁴ e. g. in *arṇnavasya* in l. 4 and in *-arthah* in l. 12.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om om namaḥ Sivāya* the text up to the middle of l. 22 and again from the middle of

¹ These were prepared from enlargement of "two indifferent negatives."

² For these measurements which I am unable to verify I have to entirely depend on Mr. Banerji's statement, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

³ The seal is not reproduced in the plate published in the *Epigraphia*.

⁴ This point in the paleography of the record has not been always correctly understood by scholars, e. g., R. D. Banerji and R. G. Basak who think that the *r* stroke is omitted by the scribe through inadvertence (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 279 and *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXXI, p. 84).

l. 45 to the end of l. 49 is in verse. The rest is in prose. The number of verses is fourteen which are composed in a variety of metres viz. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Sragdharā, Mālinī, Āryā, Anushtubh and Vasantatilaka. The poet employs *double entendre* in verses 3 and 5. The rules of euphony have not been observed in the compound *Āpunvāna-Aurvva* in l. 38.—In respect of orthography it should be noted that both the letters *v* and *b* are denoted by the same sign; a letter is usually doubled after a superscript *r*; a letter preceding a subscript *r* is rarely doubled, e. g. in *Kshattriyānām*, in l. 9; and in some cases, even when the *visarga* is joined with a following *ch* in euphony, the *visarga* is retained along with the resultant *ś*, e. g. in *kurvantaḥ ś-chandraḥ*, in l. 8. The *avagraha* sign is systematically omitted. The final *m* is denoted by the ordinary letter *m* written in a smaller form and raised above the base of the letters, with the *virāma* stroke placed beneath it. In l. 39 the letter *ś* takes the place of *sh* and the initial *i* is substituted wrongly for *yi* in *śaḍaṅgādhyāine*.

The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vijayasena** *adeva* 'who meditated on the feet of' the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Hemantasena** (ll. 23-24). It opens with the usual formula *om om namaḥ Sivāya* which is followed by two verses, one in honour of Śiva (Dhūrjati) and the other in honour of the Moon (ll. 1-6) in whose lineage certain kings were born (ll. 6-8). In their family sprang up **Sāmantasena** (ll. 8-10). His son was **Hemantasena**, 'the skilful protector of kings' (ll. 11-13). From him was born **Vijayasena** whose queen **Vilāsadevī**, of the **Śūra** family (ll. 13-16), gave birth to **Vallālasena** who had the epithet *Niḥsaṅka-śaṅkara* (ll. 19-20). Of **Vijayasena** it is stated that he caused gifts to be made by his queen (ll. 21-22). The present document is issued by the king from his 'camp of victory' situated at **Vikramapura** (ll. 22-23), and addressed to his various officials and others whose list is given in ll. 25-30. The grant consisted of 4 *pāṭakas* of land belonging to the village of **Ghāsasambhoga-bhāṭṭavaḍā**, measured by the Nala standard prevalent in **Samataṭa** and yielding an income of 200 *kaparddaka-purāṇas* (ll. 32-34). It was situated in the **Khāḍi-vishaya** of the **Paundravardhana-bhukti** (ll. 21-32). The donee was **Udaya-karadevaśarman**, great-grandson of **Ratnākaradevaśarman** who was an inhabitant of **Kāntijoṅga** and immigrant from **Madhyadeśa**, grandson of **Rahaskaradevaśarman** and son of **Bhāskaradevaśarman**, belonging to **Vatsa-gotra**, **Bhārgava**, **Chyāvana**, **Āpunvāna**, **Aurvva** and **Jāmadagnya pravaras** and a student of

the six Aṅgas of the Āsvalāyana *śākhā* of the R̥gveda (ll. 37-39). The grant was made as fee for the performance of *Homa* in connection with the Kanaka-Tulāpurusha-Mahādāna¹ ceremony of the *Mahā-mahādevī* ('the great great-queen') Vilāsadevī during a lunar eclipse, within the palace at Vikramapura (ll. 39-43). Ll. 45-48 contain the customary verses appertaining to a grant. Then is mentioned the name of Śālādḍanāga who was appointed Dūta by the *Arivriṣhabhaśaṅkara* (i. e. Vijayasena) for the purpose of this grant (ll. 48-49). This is followed by the date which is the year 62, the 7th day of Vaiśākha, and finally comes the abbreviated form of official endorsement *Śrī ni Mahā ni* (ll. 49-50).

The inscription is important from many points of view. In the metrical portion the genealogy of the Senas is carried to Sāmantasena, the grandfather of Vijayasena; but in the prose portion it is not carried beyond his father, the *Mahārājādhirāja* Hemantasena. As stated elsewhere, it was probably Hemantasena who established the Imperial house of the Senas.² Sāmantasena does not appear to have wielded any real power and possibly was a petty king. The title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to Hemantasena in the prose portion of this record as well as the epithet *rājarakshāsudakṣaḥ* by which he is qualified in the metrical portion, leaves no doubt as to his real claim to the dignity of sovereign power.

The expression *Sūrakulāmbhodhikarumudī* used in regard to Vallālasena's mother Vilāsadevī has led to much controversy.³ It denotes that Vallālasena was born of a daughter of the Sūra family. This fact, according to Mr. R. D. Banerji, "definitely proves that the majority of the genealogical works of Bengal are not reliable sources of historical information. According to the majority of these works Vallālasena was born in the family of a daughter's son of Ādiśūra, the mythical king of the Sūra dynasty." (*op. cit.*, p. 279). Mr. Banerji quotes from some of these *kula-granthas* in support of his view. At least one of the texts (see No. II of his extracts)⁴, however, correctly represents Vallālasena as 'the daughter's son' of a Sūra king, although the statement that he was actually 'the daughter's son' of the seventh descendant of Ādiśūra and also that a king of this name really existed may not be accepted in its entirety in the absence of reliable data. Whatever be the historicity

¹ The *Dānasāgara*, a work which is ascribed to Vallālasena, gives a lengthy description of *Tulāpurushadāna*. See extract published by Paṇḍit Śyāmācharan Kaviratna (Calcutta, 1836 Śaka), pp. 124-238. A Tulāpurusha was performed by Jayapāla, king of Kāmarūpa.—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 292, l. 19.

² R. G. Basak *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXXI (1328 B. S.), p. 171.

³ Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihās* (second ed.), p. 161; R. P. Chanda—article on 'Ādiśūra' (reprint, dated 1321 B. S.), p. 9.

⁴ *Rājñāḥ saptaṃsa-saṁtānasya dauhitro-bhūd Vallāl-ākhyat*. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 279.

of Ādisūra this is now certain that there was a family called Sūra ; and it is corroborated by a passage in the Tirumalai inscription of 1025 A. D. which mentions a king Raṇasūra flourishing about this date in Dakṣiṇarādhā.

That Vikramapura was one of the capitals, if not *the* capital, of Vijayasena appears highly probable in the light of this record. Lines 39-41 state that the *dakṣiṇā* on account of the Tulāpurusha ceremony was paid or the ceremony was performed, at the king's residence in Vikramapura. The construction of the sentence *Vikramapuropakārikā-madhye sati* etc. makes both these interpretations possible. Whichever interpretation we may adopt there is no doubt that Vilāsadevī performed Tulāpurusha at the king's residence in Vikramapura. Because the payment of *dakṣiṇā* immediately follows the conclusion of a ceremony and without the former the latter remains incomplete and fruitless. Therefore it cannot be maintained that the ceremony was done at one place and the payment of *dakṣiṇā* made at another. Almost every grant of the Senas is represented as being issued from Vikramapura *skandhāvāra*. And that is also the case with the present one as stated in ll. 22-23. But Vikramapura is introduced in this record, unlike other charters of the Senas, once again, in ll. 39-40 (*Vikramapuropakārikā-madhye*), which is significant, and should be specially marked. The word *skandhāvāra* may of course mean only a military encampment, but it has also the sense of *rājadhānī* according to the Bengal lexicographer of the Sena period, Halāyudha.¹ The word *upakārikā*², it may be argued, means only a temporary 'camp' for royal residence³ and not a fixed palace. But the very fact that the queen performed the elaborate Tulāpurusha-mahādāna within the Vikramapura-upakārikā is itself sufficient to show that Vijayasena had something like a permanent residence in Vikramapura. It could not have been possibly performed within a tent, pitched temporarily for the king. Vijayapura, identified with Vijaynagar in Rajshahi District, is mentioned in Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta* (verse 36)⁴ as the capital (of Vijayasena). Vikramapura therefore has probably to be looked upon as his second capital.

Regarding the Khādī-*vishaya* which was included in Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* it should be noted that Lakshmaṇasena, grandson of Vijayasena, appears in his Sundarban copper-plate as giving away some land belonging to the Khādī-*maṇḍala* of the same *bhukti* (see Appendix). In the *Dākārṇava*

¹ See Aufrecht's ed., p. 32, v. 131. ² *Ibid.*, p. 32, v. 135 : *grihashthānam smṛitam-rājñām upakāry-opakārikā*.

³ As in *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XVI, v. 55 (*vihitopakāryā*) where *upakāryā* (same as *upakārikā*) is used in this sense.

⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, 1905, p. 58.

Khādī is mentioned as one of the 64 Pīṭhas, along with Rādha, Dhikkara, Vaṅgāla and Harikela (H. P. Śāstrī, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Govt. Col.*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 92). In his Introduction to the "Essay on Bengali Language and Literature" published in 1873, Pandit Rāmgati Nyāyaratna remarked that "even to this day a pargana and a village both called Khādī exist in the Sundarbans."¹ In line 33 of the inscription it is mentioned that the land was measured according to the Nala standard prevalent in Samatāṭa (*Samatāṭya-nalena*). The natural inference would be that the region where the land was situated belonged to the Samatāṭa country. Samatāṭa, as the name of a portion of Bengal, is known principally from Yuan Chuang's account² and mentioned in a number of inscriptions e. g. Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta,³ Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla,⁴ Bāghaurā inscription of the reign of Mahipāla⁵ and a Bodhgayā inscription of Viryendrabhadra.⁶ Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī has shown that Samatāṭa included Bāghaurā in District Comilla. That it extended up to the Sundarbans appears very probable from the present copper-plate. This practically supports the old theory of Cunningham,⁷ namely, that Samatāṭa corresponds to the Delta of the Ganges including Jessore and other districts and that the distance given by the Chinese traveller from Tamluk "would take us to the uninhabited part of the *Sundari-vana* or Sundarbans, between Huranghata river and Bakargunj."

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥

१ कौञ्चारिहिरदास्ययोः शिशुतया तातस्य मौलौ मिथो गङ्गा-

2 वारिणि खेलतोः शशिकलामालोक्य मध्येजटम् । शै(शै)वालावलिमध्यवदशफरी-

3 बुद्ध्या समाकर्षतो राकन्दस्फुट-कन्दलेन विहसन्नव्याजगङ्गूर्जटिः ॥ [1*]¹⁰ अस्ति चौरमहा-

4 र्खस्य तनयः प्रेयान्ननोजन्मनश्चक्षुः श्रीपरिणेतुरद्रितनयाभर्तुः शिरोभूषण[म्] ।

5 प्रागाशातरुणी-ललाट-तिलकं पूर्वाद्रि-चूडामणिर्द्योदेवालयदैवतं दिविषदां सार-

6 स्तुषार-द्युतिः ॥ [2*]¹¹ तदंशे राजहंसच्छद-विशद-यशःकौमुदीमुज्जिरन्तः खेलन्तः द्वाध-

¹ Ed. Girindranath Banerji (Chinsura, 1327 B. S.), Preface to First edition, p. ii. Khādī Pargana and Khādī village are within the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the 24 Parganas—Hunter, *Statistical Account of the 24 Parganas*, p. 106.

² Watters, *Yuan Chuang*, Vol. II, pp. 187-88.

³ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 307.

⁵ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. X, pp. 85-91.

⁶ Bloch, *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 158; and N. G. Majumdar, *Sāhitya-parishat-patrikā*, 1323 B. S., pp. 69-74.

⁷ *Ann. Geo. Ind.*, pp. 501-03.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹¹ Metre: Sragdharā.

- 7 राणामुपरि कर-समारोप सोमन्तिताशाः । सोमानः पुण्यराशेरमृतमय-कलामण्ड-
 8 लाभागवन्तः कुर्वन्तः शब्द¹-लोलामवनितलभुजो राजपुत्रा बभूवुः ॥ [3*] ²तेषां
 वंशे बभू-
 9 व प्रभुरुभय-कुल-प्रौढि-सम्पद्गुणानामुत्त(त्त)सः क्षत्रियाणामधन-जनमनश्चातकानाम्पयो-
 10 दः ।³ शत्रूणामन्तकर्त्ता तुहिनकर-कला मूर्ति(र्त्ति)-कौर्त्यङ्गनानां कान्तः सामन्तसेनो
 रण-शिरसि
 11 जिताराति-सामन्तसेनः ॥ [4*] ⁴शश्वत्प्रोद्धपद्मः प्रतिदिनमुदयो राजरक्षासुदक्षः शत्रु⁵-
 12 श्वैतन्य-चिन्तामणिरनगुमहाः प्रार्थकैरयितार्थः । एतस्मादूषलाभिर्युतिभिरुपचि-
 13 तस्तामासानां गुणानां हन्ता हेमन्तसेनो रविरिव जगतां माननीयो बभूव ॥ [5*]
⁶अजनि
 14 विजयसेनस्तेन राकासुधांशो रुचिभिरवचिताभिर्भास्वतोपि प्रभाभिः । शिशिर-
 15 कर-खरांशु-श्रीर्यशः-कौमुदीनामपि समुदयहेतुर्यत् प्रतापातपानाम् ॥ [6*] ⁷अभवद्भि-
 16 लासदेवी शूरकुलाश्लोधि-कौमुदी तस्य [1*] नयन-युग-मञ्ज(ज्जु)खञ्जन-विहार-
 केलिस्थली
 17 महिषी ॥ [7*] ⁸क्षत्राणामातपक्षं कनकगिरि-शिरोवर्त्तिमात्तण्डतेजाः शश्वद्विश्व-
 म्वलिम्प-
 18 ब्रजरपुरधुनी-केनपुण्यैर्यशोभिः । जातस्तस्मादयु(सु)थ्यान्मनसिज-रजनीजानि-सौ-
 19 न्दर्य-सारः श्रीमद्वल्लालसेनः सुरु(र)-गुरुधिवषणाकामुकीकामकान्तः ॥ [8*] ⁹एवं-
 विध-गुणश्रे-
 20 णिः श्रीमन्निःशङ्कशङ्करः । आखण्डल इवादित्या देवो गर्भे यया धृतः [11] [9*]
¹⁰दोर्दण्डचण्डि-
 21 मनतावनिपालमौलिरत्नप्रभापटलपाटलपादपद्मः । श्रीमांस्तया विजयसेनमही-
 22 महेन्द्रो दानान्यदापयदशेषि[त]कृतसदानः ॥ [10*] स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुर-समा-
 वासितश्रीम-
 23 जयस्कन्धावारात(त्) । महाराजाधिराज-श्रीहेमन्तसेनपादानुध्यात-परमेश्वर-परममाहे-
 24 श्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमद्विजयसेनदेवः कुशलौ ।

¹ Read *kurvantaś-chandra*.² Read *m payodah*.³ Read *sudakṣhaś-chakṣhu*.⁴ Metre : Āryā.⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.⁶ Metre : Sragdharā.⁷ Metre : Sragdharā.⁸ Metre : Mālinī.⁹ Metre : Sragdharā.¹⁰ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

Reverse.

- 25 समुपगताशेष-राज-राजन्यक-र(रा)ज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-पुरोहित-महाधर्मा-
 26 ध्यक्ष-महासान्धिविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महामुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्ग-वृहदुपरिक-महा-
 27 क्षपटलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाव्यूहपति-महापीलुपति-महागणस्थ-दौःसाधिक-चौरो-
 28 हरणिक-नौवलहस्यखगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्यापृतक-गौत्तिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डना-
 29 यक-विषयपत्यादौनन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तान(न्) इहाकीर्त्ति-
 30 तान(न्) चट्टभट्टजातीयान(न्) ज(जा)नपदान(न्) चेतकरांश्च ब्राह्मणान(न्) ब्राह्म-
 31 णोत्तरान(न्) यथाह मानयति ।
 32 बोधयति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवताम् । यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-
 खाड़ीवि-
 33 षये घाससम्भोगभाटवडाग्रामे तिच्छहण्ड-जलाहंसोमादक्षिणपश्चिमोत्तरतः
 34 यथाप्रसिद्ध-चतुःसोमावच्छिन्ना[न्ना] समतटोयनलेन पाटकचतुष्टय¹ कपर्दकपुरा-
 35 णशतद्वयोत्पत्तिः भूमिरियं तृणपूतिगोचरपर्यन्ता सतला सोद्देशा साम्प्रपनसा
 36 सगुवाक-नारिकेला सवना सजलस्थला सगर्तोषरा सञ्चदशापराधा परिहृतस-
 37 र्व्वपोडा अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशा अकिञ्चित्प्रग्राह्या समस्तराजभोगकरहिरण्यप्रत्याय-
 38 सहिता । मध्यदेशविनिर्गतकान्तिजोङ्गोय-रत्नाकरदेवशर्मेणः प्रपौत्राय रहस्करदेव-
 39 शर्मेणः पौत्राय भास्करदेवशर्मेणः पुत्राय वत्ससगोत्राय भार्गवच्यावनाप्रुवान-ओर्व्व²-जा
 म[द]ग्नि(ग्न्य)प्रवराय ऋग्वे दाखलायनशाखाश(ष)ङ्गधाड्याइ(यि)ने श्रीउदयकरदेवशर्मेणे
 विक्रम-
 40 पुरोपकारिकामध्ये सति [सो]मग्रहे अस्मन्महामहादेवी श्रीमद्विलासदेव्या दत्तक-
 41 नकतुलापुरुषमहादाने हो[म]कर्मदक्षिणा विधिवदुदकपूर्व्वकं कृत्वा भगव[न्तं] म-
 42 हेश्वरभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसम-
 43 कालं यावत् भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशसनौकृत्य प्रदत्तास्माभिः । तद्भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरेवानु-
 44 मन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिः अपहरणे नरकभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात्
 45 पालनीयं भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ³बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः[:]सग-
 46 रादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं⁴ [॥] [11*] ⁵भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
 47 यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [12*] ⁶स्वदत्तां
 परदत्तां वा यो हर-

¹ Read *chatushtayā*.⁴ Read *phalam*.² Read *Āpnuvān-Aurva*.⁵ Metre : Anushtubh.³ Metre : Anushtubh.⁶ Metre : Anushtubh.

48 त वसुन्धरा¹ [।] स विद्यायां क्रि(क्)मिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह पचते । [।*] [13*] ²नृप-
गणनाग्रिमरेखः श्रीमानरि-

49 वृषभशङ्करः कृतवा(न्) [।*] उदयकरशासनदाने शालाड्डनागमिह दूत³ [॥*] ⁴सं
६२ वैशाखदिने ७ श्री नि

50 [म] हा नि [।*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Om ! Adoration to Śiva.

(Verse 1). May Dhūrjaṭi (i. e. Śiva) protect the world, 'laughing at the squabble between the enemy of the Krauñcha mountain (i.e. Kārttikeya) and the elephant-faced one (i. e. Gaṇeśa), which can be understood from their cries as they are sporting together in the water of the Ganges on the head of their father,⁵ and (both) drawing the crescent moon which they have discovered amidst his matted hair, mistaking it for a *śapharī* fish entrapped in a mass of weeds.

(Verse 2). There was a son of the Ocean of Milk, (namely), the Icy-rayed one (i. e. the Moon), the friend of the Mindborn, the eye of the husband of Lakshmī, the crest-ornament of the husband of the Mountain's daughter, the point on the forehead of the young lady (*who is*) the Eastern Quarter, the crestjewel of the Eastern Mountain, the deity in the temple of firmament and the quintessence of the dwellers of heaven (i. e. gods).

(Verse 3). In his family were born princes (*rājaputras*),⁶ who ruled over the surface of the earth, imitating the character of the Moon :—they spread the rays of fame as white as the plumage of the swan, played over the kings⁷ (as the Moon plays over mountains), fixing the boundaries of different quarters by the imposition of taxes⁸ (just as the Moon divides the quarters by his rays) ; and they were the acme⁹ of virtues (just as the Moon is the limit i. e. ultimate

¹ Read *vasundharām*.

² Metre : Āryā.

³ Read *dūtam*.

⁴ Mr. Banerji reads 32, but the correct reading 62 has been pointed out by Mr. R. G. Basak (*Sahitya*, Vol. XXXI, p. 90 and n. 18; also *ibid*, Vol. XXXI, p. 172). See also D. C. Bhattacharya, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 157.

⁵ Cf. *Gaṅgā-vāriṇy-agādhe jhaṭiti Harajājūjātato datta-jhampak—Saduktikarnāmrta*, p. 39.

⁶ The use of the word *rājaputra* does not, I am afraid, indicate that the Senas were Rājputs (Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 279). In this place other records have *narendrāḥ* (Mādhānagar plate, l. 6).

⁷ The word *kṣhmādhara* has double meaning, 'king' and 'mountain'.

⁸ The word *kara* has double meaning, 'tax' and 'rays'.

⁹ The word *śīman* means both 'acme' and 'limit'.

¹⁰ In one case *puṇyārāśi* means 'mass of virtue' (*tap-puruṣa* compound), and in the other it means 'one who has a mass of virtue' (*bahuvrīhi* compound). There is a common belief that meritorious people after their death go to the Moon (*Chandraloka*).

goal of those who have great virtue) and acquired perfection in the multitude of nectar-like fine arts¹ (just as the moon has a perfect circle of nectarine digits).

(Verse 4). In their lineage flourished Sāmantasena, who brought about the dignity, prosperity and merit of both the families (paternal and maternal), became the head-ornament of the Kshatriyas, the water-bestowing cloud to the *chātaka*-like minds of the penniless, the exterminator of foes, the beloved of Fame having as (*beautiful*) an appearance as that of the digit of the Icy-rayed one (i. e. the moon) and who, at the head of the battle, repulsed the forces of the vassals (*sāmantas*) of his enemies.

(Verse 5). From this (i. e. Sāmantasena) arose Hemantasena, who eternally kept the goddess Lakshmī (Padmā)² awake (as the sun opens lotus-buds), became (*more and more*) prosperous³ everyday (as the sun rises daily), was skillful in the protection of kings⁴ (as the sun by its rays protects the moon),⁵ was the eye (of his people) (as the sun is the eye of the world),⁶ the touchstone of knowledge (as the sun brings consciousness to the world),⁷ and possessed great valour⁸ (as the sun has great brilliance). From him wealth was solicited by supplicants⁹ (as the sun is prayed to by devotees so that they may attain their desired objects). He was full of the brilliance of prowess (as the sun is full of hot rays) and the destroyer of evil powers¹⁰ (as the sun destroys darkness), and thus (*in every respect*) became like the sun an object of veneration to the (*three*) worlds.

(Verse 6). By him was begotten Vijayasena who was as it were endowed with moon-beams as well as the rays of the sun at one and the same time, and thus had the beauty of (*both*) the moon and the sun. He was the cause of the spread of the moonlight of his fame and the sunshine of his prowess.

(Verse 7). Vilāsadevī, who was like the moonlight on the ocean of the Sūra family, became his queen and the enjoyable sporting-ground of the beautiful *khañjana* birds, namely, (*his*) pair of eyes.

(Verse 8). From him was born Vallālasena, who is the very parasol (i. e. protection) of the Kshatriyas, the dazzling sun on the top of the Golden mountain (i. e. Meru), who has constantly anointed the Universe with his fame which

¹ The word *kalā* means the digits of the Moon as well as Fine arts.

² There is a play on the words *Padmā* and *padma*.

³ The word *udaya* means both 'rise' and 'prosperity'.

⁴ The word *rājan* means both 'king' and 'moon'.

⁵ The moon has no light of her own.

⁶ Cf. *Ep. Myth.*, p. 84.

⁷ Just as the world wakes up at sun-rise being touched by its rays, so also people coming in contact with him acquires knowledge (*chaitanya*).

⁸ The word *mahas* means both 'valour' and 'brilliance'.

⁹ The word *artha* means both 'wealth' and 'object of desire,' and the word *prārthaka* both 'beggar' and 'devotee'.

¹⁰ The expression *tāmasānām gunānām* refers to both 'darkness' and 'dark qualities.'

is as holy as the foam of the river of the city of the gods (i. e. the Ganges), who is the quintessence of the beauty of the god of Love and of the bride of the night (i. e. Moon) and the cherished lover of that passionate woman, namely Intellect of the preceptor of the gods.¹

(Verses 9-10). By her who bore in her womb that illustrious **Niḥsaṅka-Saṅkara** having these good qualities, as was (borne) the sun by Aditi,—the great Indra of the Earth and that bestower of endless gifts of various kinds, **Vijayasena**, whose lotuslike feet were made pink-coloured by the multitude of rays issuing from the gems on the heads of kings, bowing down to him on account of the fierceness of his clublike arms, caused donations to be made.

(Lines 22-31). Now, from his victorious camp situated in **Vikramapura**, the **Parameśvara**, **Paramamāheśvara**, **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**, **Mahārājādhirāja**, the illustrious **Vijayadeva**, who meditated on the feet of the **Mahārājādhirāja Hemantasena**, being in good health—duly honours, informs and orders all those that have assembled, viz. the **Rājans**, **Rājanyakas**, **Rājñis**, **Rānakas**, **Rājaputras**, **Rājāmātyas**, the priests, **Mahādharmādhyakṣa**, **Mahāsāndhivigrahika**, **Mahāsenāpati**, **Mahāmudrādhikṛita**, **Antaraṅga-Bṛihaduparika**, **Mahākṣapaṭalika**, **Mahāpratihāra**, **Mahāvṛyūhapati**, **Mahāpīlupati**, **Mahāgaṇastha**, **Dauḥsādhika**, **Chauroddharanika**, officers engaged over fleet, army, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., the **Gaulmikas**, **Dandapāśikas**, **Dandānāyakas**, **Vishaypatīs** and all others who are dependant on the king, whose names are mentioned in the chapter on officers but are here omitted, people of the **Chātṭa** and **Bhātṭa** class, the cultivators, the **Brāhmaṇas** and the chief among **Brāhmaṇas** :—

(Lines 31-43). Be it known to you that 4 *pāṭakas* of land (measured) by the *Nala* of **Samatāṭa**, yielding an income of 200 *kapardaka-purāṇas*, in the village of **Ghāsambhogabhāṭṭavādā**² belonging to the **Khādī-vishaya** of the **Paundravardhana-bhukti**, having half of the marshy land **Tikshahaṇḍa** as its southern, western and northern boundaries, along with grass, *pūti* plant, pastures, with bottom and surface, with mango and jackfruit trees, with betelnut and cocoanut trees, with forest, with land and water, with pits and barren tracts, with toleration of the Ten Sins, with exemption from forced labour, not to be entered by **Chātṭas** and **Bhātṭas**, free from all sorts of dues and along with taxes and tributes

¹ This means that though Intellect was the wife of the preceptor of the gods, she really loved this king and not her own husband!

² *Sambhoga* is probably a territorial unit like *bhoga* which consisted of *grāmas* e. g. in Dudia plates of *Pravarasena II*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 261, ll. 16-17.

of gold enjoyed by the king, is given by Us with due libation of water, in the name of lord Maheśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, for as long as the sun, moon and earth endure, according to the principle of Bhūmichchhidra, by means of a copper-plate, to Udayakaradeva-śarman, son of Bhāskaradevaśarman and great-grandson of Rahaskaradevaśarman who is an inhabitant of Kāntijongā and immigrant from Madhyadeśa, a student of the Āśvalāyana *sākhā* of the R̥gveda and of the six Āngas, belonging to the Vatsa-*gotra* and Bhārgava, Chyāvāna, Āpnuvāna, Aurvva, Jāmadagnya *pravara*s, in the palace of Vikramapura, as fee for conducting *Homa* in the 'Great Gift' of my 'Great Great Queen', the illustrious Vilāsadevī, in which the Golden Tulāpurusha was given away on the occasion of Lunar Eclipse.

(Lines 43-48). So you should all give your assent to it. It should be protected by future kings also (*considering that*) its taking away entails the fear of falling into hell and its protection, great virtue. There are also verses in this matter, in praise of Dharma :

(Verse 11). Land has been given away by kings, Sagara and others ; who-soever at any time owns the land to him belongs at that time the fruit (*of such grant*).

(Verse 12). He who receives a land grant and also he who bestows it both attain merit and always go to heaven.

(Verse 13). He who takes away land given either by himself or by others rots along with his forefathers as a worm in dirt.

(Verse 14). The illustrious Vṛishabhaśaṅkara (i. e. Vijayasena), who is counted first in the list of kings, has made Śāiāḍḍanāga, the *Dūta* of the gift of this charter to Udayakara.

(Line 49). The year 62, the 7th day of Vaiśākha.

(Lines 49-50). (*Endorsed by*) the illustrious (*king*). (*Endorsed by*) the (Mahāsāndhivigrahika or Mahāmātra ?)

VII. NAIHĀTĪ COPPER-PLATE OF VALLĀLASENA.

This copper-plate was unearthed in 1911, by a number of labourers while repairing a road in the village of Naihātī, in the Kāṭwā sub-division of the District of Burdwan, at a distance of about one hundred yards from the western bank of the river Ganges. The findspot is six miles from Kāṭwā and falls within the estate of Babu Baidyanath Chatterji, Zamindar of Sitāhātī, which is a village adjacent to Naihātī.

The inscription was published along with a Bengali translation by Mr. Tarak Chandra Ray in the *Journal of the Vāṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231-45 and plates and by Mr. Banwari Lal Goswami in the *Pravāsī*, 1317 B. S., pp. 530-33. An article containing a better edition and translation of the record was published in Bengali by Messrs A. K. Maitra and R. G. Basak in the *Sāhitya* (Calcutta, B. S. 1318), Vol. XXII, pp. 519-27 and 575-85. It was thereafter edited and translated by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156-63 and plates. The present treatment is based on a set of inked estampages taken from the original copper-plate, now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This is a single plate measuring 13½" by 15". At the top is affixed a seal, containing a representation of Sadāśiva.¹ The writing is very neatly and beautifully done and consists of 64 lines, of which thirty-two are engraved on the obverse and thirty-two on the reverse. The size of the letters is about ⅜".

The characters belong to a variety of the Northern alphabets, which may be called the precursors of the modern Bengali, as current in North-Eastern India in the 12th century A.D. The only letters to note are the initial *ū* occurring in line 41 and initial *o* in lines 51 and 63. The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om om namaḥ śivāya* the text upto the end of line 28 and again from *bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, etc. in line 56 to the end of line 63, is in verse. The rest is in prose. The verses are fourteen in number, being composed in a variety of metres viz. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mandākrāntā, Sragdharā, Āryā, Vasantatilaka and Śikharinī. The rules of euphony have not been observed in *sameta-ādhaka* in lines 45-6.

In respect of orthography the following points should be noted: both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign; a letter following the

¹ For Sadāśiva see remarks below, 'Anulā copper-plate of Lakshmanasena.'

superscript *r* is occasionally doubled; and that the *avagraha* sign is used in five out of eight cases. The final *t* is erroneously employed in *pādānudhyāt*, in line 30.

The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramabhaitāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Vallālasenadeva*, who 'meditated on the feet of' the *Mahārājādhirāja* *Vijayasenadeva* (l. 11. 29-31). The record opens with the auspicious formula *om om namaḥ śivāya* followed by an invocation to Śiva as *Ardhanārīśvara* (v. 1). Then is introduced the Moon-god (v. 2). Some princes born in his family are next stated as having settled in *Rāḍhā* (v. 3); a descendant of them was *Sāmantasena* (v. 4). His son was *Hemantasena*, who was a worshipper of the god having the Bull standard (i. e. Śiva) (v. 5). His son was *Vijayasena* (v. 7); from his chief queen *Vilāsadevī* (v. 10) was born *Vallālasena*, who made the following grant to a person named *Ovāsudeva* on the occasion of the *Hemāśvadāna* ceremony performed by her during a solar eclipse (v. 14). It was issued from the 'camp of victory' situated in *Vikramapura* (l. 29). Here follows the customary list of officers and other persons connected with the grant (ll. 31-37). The village granted was *Vāllahiṭṭhā* consisting of 7 *bhūpātakas*, 9 *droṇas*, 1 *āḍhaka*, 40 *unmānas* and 3 *kākas*, measured by the standard called *Vṛishabhaśaṅkara-nala* or 'the reed of *Vṛishabhaśaṅkara*'. The village was situated in the *Svalpadakṣhiṇa-vṛthi* belonging to the *Uttara-Rāḍhā-maṇḍala* of the *Vardhamāna-bhukti* (ll. 37-46). The boundaries of the village are specified in lines 38-44 (for which see the translation). The donee's name and the object of the grant are now stated once again. In this connection it is mentioned that: the donee *Ovāsudevaśarman* was the son of *Lakshmīdevaśarman*, grandson of *Bhadreśvaraśarman* and great grandson of *Varāhadevaśarman*; he belonged to the *Bharadvāja gotra*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Āṅgīrasa* and *Bārhaspatya pravara*s, and was a student of the *Kauthuma-sākhā* of the *Sāmaveda* (ll. 49-51); and that he served in the capacity of the *Āchārya* in the *Hemāśvamahādāna*¹ ceremony performed by the king's mother *Vilāsadevī* on the banks of the Ganges, on the occasion of a solar eclipse and received this village as the fee (*dakṣhiṇā*) for his services (ll. 51-52). The customary verses in connection with a grant of land are next inserted in lines 56-62. Then it is stated that the *Sāndhivigrahika* *Harighosha* was appointed to act as the *Dūta* by king *Vallālasena*, in this grant to *Ovāsu* (v. 21). Finally comes

¹ It is one of the 'sixteen great gifts' described in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, Ch. 280, Verses 1-15.

the date, the regnal year 11 and the 16th day of Vaiśākha, together with an abbreviated form of official endorsement¹ as follows : *Śrī ni mahāsām karaṇa ni* (l. 64).

It has been stated above² that the Senas originally came from Karṇṇāṭa in the Deccan. And this record definitely states that the immediate predecessors of Sāmantasena, who are described as *rājaputras* or 'princes', settled in Rāḍhā, i. e., roughly the Burdwan Division. It is just possible that these fortune-seekers from the South poured into Bengal at a time when the imperial power of the Pālas was getting weaker and weaker. With Rāḍhā as their centre of operations they seem to have gradually advanced eastward and finally absorbed the entire Pāla kingdom in Bengal. The part played by Sāmantasena in the formation of the Sena kingdom is obscure and probably he never was a king, although he is credited, in the Deopārā inscription, with having gained a victory over the enemies of a Karṇṇāṭa prince. The identity of this prince as well as that of his enemies has not yet been established.³

In verse 7 Vijayasena is qualified by the phrase *nirvyāja-vikrama-tiraskṛita-Sāhasāṅka* which according to Mr. Banerji means that "Vijayasena defeated a king named Sāhasāṅka."⁴ He concludes that this Sāhasāṅka is to be identified with a prince called Sālavāhanadeva, mentioned in a Chamba grant of his son Somavarmadeva, which the late Professor Kielhorn referred to about 1050 A. D. But it is doubtful whether the passage in question has any historical bearing at all. The poet seems to indicate by means of a rhetoric that Vijayasena wielded great power (*vikrama*) which 'eclipsed even that of Vikramāditya'. This most probably bears an allusion to the mythical hero of that name and not to any of Vijayasena's contemporaries. Such extravagant expressions used by the panegyrist are so familiar to us that they need not be taken seriously.

During the Pāla-Sena period the country of Rāḍhā appears to have consisted of two parts, the Northern and the Southern. The Northern half was called Uttara-rāḍhā and the Southern, Dakṣiṇa-rāḍhā. The present record as well as the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman mentions the former, while the latter is referred to in Śrīdhara's *Nyāyakandalī* (991 A. D.)⁵ The names of both the divisions occur, in their Dravidianised forms as *Uttiralāḍam* and *Takkana-*

¹ Such stanzas in Āryā metre at the end of a charter are a general feature of the Sena copper-plates.

² *Ante*, p. 44.

³ Mr. R. P. Chanda thinks that he is no other than Kumāra Vikramāditya, son of Someśvara I, the Chalukya king of Kalyani (Nizam's State)—*Gauḍarājamālā*, pp. 46-7. See discussion on this point by Mr. Banerji in the *Prabāsi*, 1319 B. S., pp. 395-96. He is of opinion that the Karṇṇāṭa prince is Rājendra Chola I.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 157.

⁵ *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. VIII (1912), p. 341, n. 1.

lādām, in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendrachola I, dated 1025 A. D.¹ The words *bhukti*, *mandala* and *vīthī* denoting the different units of a province are noteworthy. The term *vīthī* occurs also in the Ghughrahāṭī grant of Samāchāradeva and the Nālandā grant of Devapāladeva.² Vardhamānabhukti is referred to again in the Govindapur copper-plate of Lakshmaṇasena.³

Besides Vāllahitṭhā, the village that was given away, the copper-plate mentions a number of other villages viz. Jalasoṭhī, Khāṇḍayillā, Ambayillā and Molādandī, which formed its different boundaries. They have been identified by Mr. Tarak Chandra Ray,⁴ respectively with modern Bāluṭiyā, Jalasoṭhī, Khāruliā, Ambalgrām and Murundī. The present situation of the identified villages is as follows, according to Mr. Ray : Bāluṭiyā is about 6 miles to the west of Naihāṭī (the find place of the copper-plate), on the northern boundary of the Burdwan District. To its north is Jalasoṭhī, which is now included in the Murshidabad district. To its south is Khāruliā, to the east and south of which is Ambalgrām. To its west is Murundī. As regards the river Siṅgaṭiā, mentioned in the record, Mr. Ray observes that there is at present only a canal to the south and east of the village of Bāluṭiā. This might be the river Siṅgaṭiā although it is not called by that name.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 ॐॐ नमः शिवाय ॥

१सन्ध्या-ताण्डव-सम्बिधानविलसन्नान्दी-निनादोन्मिभिर्निर्ममयादर

2 -सार्धवो दिशतु वः श्रेयोर्द्विनारीश्वरः । यस्यार्द्धं ललिताङ्गहारवलनैरर्द्धं च भीमो

3 -ङ्गटैर्नाट्यारम्भये र्जयत्यभिनयद्वैधानुरोधश्चमः ॥ [1*] 'हर्षोच्छालपरिप्लवो
निधिरपां

4 तैलोक्यवीरः स्मरो निस्तन्द्राः कुमुदाकरा मृगदृशो विश्रान्तमानाधयः । यस्मिन्नभ्युदिते

5 चकोरनगराभोगे सुभिन्नोत्सवः स श्रौकण्ड-शिरोमणिर्विजयते
देवस्तमोवल्लभः ॥ [2*] ३वंशे

6 तस्याभ्युदयिनि सदाचारचर्या-निरुद्धिग्रीढां राढामकलितचरैर्भूषयन्तोऽनुभावैः । शश

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 232 ; Banerji, *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 72-73.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 318 and n. 2.

³ See below. Vardhamānapura is mentioned in the Chittagong plate of Kāntideva (Cir. 800 A. D.)—*Modern Review*, 1922, p. 613. But this Vardhamānapura had probably nothing to do with the Vardhamānabhukti.

⁴ *Journal of the Vāṅmīya-Sāhitya-Parishad*, Vol. XVII, pp. 232-34 and map facing p. 231.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸ Metre : Mandākrāntā.

- 7 -द्विश्वाभयवितरणस्थूललज्ज्यावलज्जैः कीर्त्तुप्रज्ञोलैः स्तपित-वियतो जज्ञिरे
राजपुत्राः ॥ [3*] ¹तेषाम्वं-
- 8 शे महीजाः प्रतिभट-पृतनाभोधिकल्पान्तसूरः कीर्त्ति-ज्योत्स्नोज्ज्वलश्रोः प्रिय-
कुमुदवनोत्सा-
- 9 -सलीलामृगाङ्कः । आसीदाजन्मरक्तप्रणयिगणमनोराज्य-सिद्धि-प्रतिष्ठा-श्रीशैलः
सत्यशीलो नि-
- 10 रूपधि-करुणाधाम सामन्तसेनः ॥ [4*] ²तस्मादजनि वृषध्वज-चरणाश्वज-
षट्पदो गुणाभरणः ।
- 11 हेमन्तसेनदेवो वैरिसरः-प्रलयहेमन्तः ॥ [5*] ³लक्ष्मी-स्नेहार्त्तदुग्धाश्वधि-वलनरय-
श्रद्धया मा
- 12 -धवेन प्रत्यावृत्तप्रवाहोच्छलितसुरधुनोश्ङ्कया शङ्करेण । हंसश्रेणी-विलासोज्ज्वलित-
निजपदाहंयुना विश्वधात्रा सुतामारामसीमाविहरणललिताः कीर्त्तयो यस्य
दृष्टाः ॥ [6*] ⁴त-
- 14 -स्मादभूदखिल-पार्थिवचक्रवर्त्ती निर्व्याज-विक्रम-तिरस्कृतसाहसङ्कः । दिक्पाल-
चक्र-पु-
- 15 -टभेदन-गीतकीर्त्तिः पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसेनपदप्रकाशः ॥ [7*] ⁵आम्यन्ती-
नाम्बनान्ते ⁶यदरि-मृ-
- 16 -गट्टशां हारमुक्ताफलानि छिन्नाकीर्त्तानि भूमौ नयनजल-मिलत्-कज्जले लीच्छितानि ।
यत्नाच्चि
- 17 -न्वन्ति दर्भक्षतचरणतलासृग्विलितानि गुञ्जा-स्रग्-भूषा-रम्य-रामास्तनकलश-
धनाश्लेषलोलाः
- 18 पुलिन्दाः ॥ [8*] ⁷प्रत्यादिशन्नविनयं प्रतिवेश्म राजा बभ्राम कार्मुकधरः किल
कार्त्तवीर्यः । अस्या-
- 19 -भिषेक-विधिमन्त्रपदैर्निरीतिरारोपितो विनयवर्त्मनि जीवलोकः ॥ [9*]
⁸पद्मालयेव दयि-
- 20 -ता पुरुषोत्तमस्य गौरीव बाल-रजनीकर-शेखरस्य । अस्य प्रधानमहिषी जगदीश्वर-

¹ Metre : Sragdharā. Read in *vanāse*.² Metre : Sragdharā.³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre : Vasantatilaka.⁵ Metre : Āryā.⁶ Metre : Vasantatilaka.⁷ Read *-nām vanānte*.⁸ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

- 21 -स्य शुद्धान्त-मौलिमणिरास विलासदेवो ॥ [10*] ¹एषा सुतं सुतपसां
सुकृतैरसूत वल्लालसेनम-
- 22 -तुलं गुणगौरवेन अध्यास्त यः पितुरनन्तरमेकवीरः सिंहासनाद्रिशिखरं नरदेव-
- 23 -सिंहः ॥ [11*] ²यस्यारि-राज-शिशवः शवरालयेषु वालैरलीक-नरनाथ-
पदेऽभिषिक्ताः । दृष्टाः प्रमोद-
- 24 -तरलेक्षणया जनन्या निश्चस्य वत्सलतया सभयं निषिद्धाः ॥ [12*] ³क्रीताः
प्राणवृण-व्ययेन रभ-
- 25 -सादालिङ्ग्य विद्याधरोराकल्पं विहरन्ति नन्दनवनाभोगेषु संसप्तकाः ।
इत्यालोच्य नृपैः
- 26 स्मर-प्रणयिताभीकैः श्रितः स्वर्धू-नेत्रेन्द्रीवर-तोरणावलिमयो
यस्यासि-धारापथः ॥ [13*]
- 27 ⁴ददाना सौवर्षं तुरगमुपरागेम्बरमणेर्यदस्योदसाक्षीदहनि जननी शासनपदम् ।
- 28 नृप स्तान्मोत्कीर्णं तदयमदितो[तौ] वासुविदुषे सतां दैन्योत्तापप्रशमनफला-
कालजलदः ॥ [14*]
- 29 स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्तन्वावारात् । महाराजाधिराज-
श्रीविजय
- 30 सेनदेव-पादानुध्यात-परमेश्वर-परममाहेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री-
- 31 -महल्लालसेनदेवः कुशली । समुपगताशेषराजराजन्यक-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-
राजा-
- 32 मात्य-पुरोहित-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्धिविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महामुद्राधिकृत-
- 33 अन्तरङ्गबृहदुपरिक-महाक्षपटलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाभोगिक-महापौलुपति-⁵महा
- 34 -गणस्थ-दौस्साधिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-नौवलहस्यश्व-गोमहिषाजाविकादिव्याघृतक-गोल्मि-
- 35 क-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपत्यादौन् अन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनो-
ऽध्यक्षप्र-
- 36 -चारोक्तान् इहाकीर्तितान् । चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणान्
ब्राह्म-

¹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

⁴ Metre : Śikharinī.

⁵ The letter / has disappeared.

- 37 -शोत्तरान् यथाहं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां । यथा
श्रीवर्द्धमानभुक्त्यन्तः-
- 38 पातिन्युत्तरराढामण्डले स्वल्पदक्षिणवोथ्यां खाण्डयिह्ला- शासनोत्तर
स्थित-सिङ्गटिआ-नद्यु
- 39 त्तरतः नाडौचाशासनोत्तरस्थ-सिङ्गटिआनदी-पश्चिमोत्तरतः अम्बयिह्ला-शासन
पश्चिमस्थि-
- 40 तसिङ्गटिआ-पश्चिमतः कुडुम्बमादक्षिणसोमालिदक्षिणतः । कुडुम्बमापश्चिम-
पश्चिमगति-
- 41 सीमालिदक्षिणतः । आजहागड्डिआदक्षिणगोपथदक्षिणतः तथा आजहागड्डियो
-त्तरगो-
- 42 -पथनिःसृतपश्चिमगति सुरकोणागड्डिआकीयोत्तरालिपर्यन्त-गतसीमालिदक्षि-
णतः नाड्डि
- 43 -नाशासन-पूर्वसीमालिपूर्वतः जलसीथीशासनपूर्वस्थगोपथार्धपूर्वतः मोलाड्न्दी-
शासन-
- 44 -पूर्वस्थित-सिङ्गटिआ-पर्यन्त गोपथार्धपूर्वतः । एवं चतुःसीमाविच्छिन्नः
वाल्महिट्ठायामः श्री-
- 45 वृषभ-शङ्करनलेन सवासुनालखिलादिभिः काकत्रयाधिकचत्वारिंशदुन्मानसमेत-
- 46 आढकनवद्रोणोत्तरसप्तभूपाटकात्मकः प्रत्यब्दं कपर्दकपुराणपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकः
- 47 सभाटविटपः सगर्तोषरः सजलस्थलः सगुवाकनारिकेलः सस्रदशापराधः परिहृ-
- 48 -तसर्व्वपीडः तृणपूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशः अकिञ्चित्प्रग्राह्यः समस्त-
राजभो-
- 49 -ग्यकरहिरण्यप्रत्यायसहितः । वराहदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय भट्टेश्वरदेवशर्मणः पौत्रा-
- 50 य लक्ष्मीधरदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय भरद्वाजसगोत्राय भरद्वाजाङ्गिरस-बाह्मस्य-प्रवराय
- 51 सामवेदकौथुमशाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने आचार्य्यश्रोतवासु-देवशर्मणे अस्मन्मातृश्री-
- 52 विलासदेवौभिः सुरसरिति सूर्योपरागे दत्तहेमाश्व-महादानस्य दक्षिणात्वेनोत्सृष्टः
- 53 मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभितृष्ये आचन्द्रार्कं क्षितिसमकालं यावत्
- 54 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनोक्त्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः । अतो भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरे-

- 55 वानुमन्तव्यं । भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौ-
 56 रवात् पालनीयं । भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः । ¹बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि-
 57 -स् सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(म्) ॥ [15*] ²भूमिं यः
 प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भू-
 58 मिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [16*] ³आस्कोट-
 यन्ति पितरो व-
 59 लग्नयन्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ [17*] ⁴षष्टिं
 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
 60 तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ॥ [18*] ⁵स्वदत्तां
 परदत्ताम्वा⁶यो हरित
 61 वसुधरां । स विष्ठायां क्षमिभूर्त्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [19*] ⁷इति कमल-
 दलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रिय-
 62 -मनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजोवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो
 विलोप्याः ॥ [20*] ⁸जित-
 63 निखिलचित्तिपालः श्रीमद्वल्लालसेनभूपालः । श्रीवासुशासनेकत दूतं हरिघोषं
 सान्धिविशद्विक्रम् ॥ [21*]
 64 सं ११ वैशाखदिने १६ श्री नि ॥ महासां करण नि ॥

TRANSLATION

Om. Om. Adoration to Śiva.

(Verse 1). May Ardhanaṛiśvara,⁹ in one half of whose body is the movement produced by 'the charming gesticulation'¹⁰ and in the other¹¹ are the terrible and extraordinary currents of the effort of dancing, (both) crowning with success the labour of this twofold play¹—and who is as it were the limitless ocean of delight consisting of waves of sound of the Nāndī song¹², unfolded in the performance of Śiva's dance at the twilight of Destruction¹⁴, bring prosperity unto you !

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

² Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Read -dattām vā.

⁷ Metre : Mālinī.

⁸ Metre : Āryā.

⁹ Śiva represented as half male and half female.

¹⁰ This is the female portion of Ardhanaṛiśvara. *Āṅgahāra* is a technical term in Indian drama, meaning 'gesticulation' which has 108 sub-varieties ; and *lālita* is one of them (see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV, verse 12 et. seq., and verse 39).

¹¹ This is the male portion of his body.

¹² I. E. performing two kinds of gesticulation at one and the same time.

Cf. यस्याङ्गे विश्वदाहव्यसनविष्टमरज्योतिरङ्गं कृपा etc. in *Saduktikarnāmṛita*, p. 36 :

¹³ Sung at the commencement of a drama.

¹⁴ Cf. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV. v. 234.

दक्षयज्ञे विनिहिते संध्याकाले महेश्वरः । नागाङ्गहारैर्नर्तनं लयतालवशादनुगम् ॥

(Verse 2). On whose rise the ocean swells with the abundance of joy, the god of love appears to be the hero of the three worlds, the slumber of the multitude of *kumuda* flowers is disturbed¹, the disease, namely, the wounded sense of wrath in the deer-eyed ones (*i. e.*, ladies) is cured and the city of *chakora* birds is in festive rejoicing on account of plenty of food², may that crest-jewel of Śiva, the beloved of Night (*i. e.* the Moon) become victorious.³

(Verse 3). In his prosperous family were born princes, who adorned Rādhā, that was famous as being given to righteous acts, with such dignities as were unprecedented. They were known for their benevolence⁴ in constantly granting protection to the universe and the firmament was bathed in the waves of their fame.

(Verse 4). In their family was born the mighty Sāmantasena, who was to the ocean of the soldiers of his enemies—the sun as it were at the time of the destruction of the world, and was the very moon brilliantly charming on account of the beams of glory, (*causing*) the sportive rejoicing of the bed of water-lilies, namely, his friends; and like the mountain (*he stood*) for the assurance of success in the mental kingdom of his friends, for ever attached to him. He followed the path of righteousness, and was the very abode of sincere compassion.

(Verse 5). From him was born Hemantasenadeva, who (*remained*) like a bee (*attracted*) to the lotus feet of (the god) with the Bull standard (*i. e.* Śiva). His qualities were his (*only*) decorations and he was to the lake-like multitude of his enemies, the (*veritable*) winter at the destruction of the world.⁵

(Verse 6). His Glories (*looking*) beautiful as they travelled up to the boundary of Indra's garden,⁶ were seen by Viṣṇu believing these to have been the moving current of the ocean of Milk disturbed by his love for Lakshmī, by Śiva with the fear that they were the overflowing Ganges gushing backward (*to the source*) and by the Creator of the Universe (*i. e.*, Brahmā) with the proud feeling that his abode shone with the sportive display of a line of geese.⁷

(Verse 7). From him sprang up the venerable Vijayasena, the lord of

¹ Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII, 25.

² Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII, 23.

³ With this verse cf. a similar one in Tarpaṇḍighi and Anulā plates, *Anando-mbunīdharu* etc.

⁴ Cf. the word *sthūla-lakṣha* used in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44, l. 14). For its interpretation 'bounteous' Kielhorn quotes Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, II, 210 (*Sthūlalakṣho bahuvyayī*). Cf. also *prāśasta-lakṣhya-lakṣanaḥ* in a Palitana inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 18).

⁵ For a similar expression regarding Hemantasena, cf. *Hemantaḥ paripaṇṭhi-paṅkajasaraḥ* etc., *Dānasāgara*, Introduction, verse 3 (see Appendix).

⁶ The implication is that it was the intention of the king to conquer even Indra! Cf. *krameṇa Sutrāma-jigīṣhay-eva svargga-prayāṇābhīmukho babhūva*—Thana plates of Rāmachandra, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 201.

⁷ The whiteness of Fame is common to the Milk Ocean, the Ganges and the geese.

Earth. He was the paramount sovereign amongst the host of princes whose undecitful prowess eclipsed (*even that of*) Vikramāditya¹ and whose deeds were sung (*in ballads*) in the cities of 'the lords of the quarters.'

(Verse 8). From the necklaces of the deer-eyed ones (*i. e.* ladies) of his enemies who were roaming in forests, pearls dropped and were strewn over the earth being marked by the collyrium mixed with the tears from their eyes, and (*these pearls*), besmeared with the blood from the bruises made by *darbha* grass on the soles of their feet, were carefully picked up by men of the Pulinda tribe (*mistaking these for guñjā seeds*), as they were yearning to passionately embrace the jar-like breasts of their beautiful wives who could be pleased by the (*present of*) necklaces of (*even*) *guñjā* seeds.

(Verse 9). King Kārtavīrya, (*it is said*), had to drive to every house, holding bow (*in hand*), in order to smother rebellious spirit. (*But merely*) by the chanting of the holy formulæ at the performance of (*this king's*) coronation ceremony, the entire living world became free from afflictions² and were placed under control.³

(Verse 10). The chief queen of this lord of Earth was Vilāsadevī shining as the crest-jewel of his female apartment, just as Lakshmī was the wife of Viṣṇu and Gaurī of (the god) having the young moon on his crest (*i. e.* Śiva).

(Verse 11). She gave birth to a son, Vallālasena, unparalleled for the fame of his qualities, as a result of the merits acquired by austerities of a high order. After his father that unique hero, a lion among princes, ascended the mountainlike 'lion-throne.'

(Verse 12). When the children of the king of his enemies in the houses of the Śavaras (*where they took refuge*) were receiving mock coronation at the hands of other children and were thus puffed up with pride, they were watched by their mother with eyes sparkling with joy and then with a sigh she forbade them being led by affection, fearing (*lest some misfortune should befall them*).

(Verse 13). "Those warriors⁴ who take a vow not to return from war, enjoy themselves in the precincts of the Nandana forest up to the end of the Cycle, passionately embracing the heavenly nymphs who are purchased at the cost of their life which is (*only*) like a blade of grass"—having realised this, princes, who were made fearless by the god of love, took shelter in the path made by the edge of his sword, thinking it (*a safe path*) spanned by arches,⁵ which resembled the lotus-eyes of heavenly damsels.

¹ See remarks above p. 70.

² Mr. R. G. Basak very aptly compares *Raghu*. VI, 39.

³ The six afflictions, *atīvriṣṭi*, *anāvriṣṭi*, etc.

⁴ Mentioned as *samsaptakas* in the text.

⁵ The expression *toranāvalimaya* Mr. Banerji translates as 'like a series of gateways.' But here eyes are compared to arches.

(Verse 14). This king like a cloud¹ cools down the heat of poverty of good people, even out of season. Having engraved on copper this deed of gift which his mother had made on the day of a solar eclipse when she gave away a golden horse, he assigned it (*i.e.* the deed) to the learned Ovāsu.²

(Lines 29-37): Now, from the victorious camp established at *Vikramapura*, the *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of *Maheśvara*, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Vallālasenadeva*, who meditated on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Vijayasenadeva*, being in good health,—duly honours, informs and orders those that have assembled: viz., all the *Rājans*, *Rājanyas*, the Queens, the *Rānakas*, *Rājaputras*, the prime-minister, the priest, the *Mahādharmaḍhyaksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅgabrihaduparika*, *Mahākshapāṭalika*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahābhogika*, *Mahāpīlupati*, *Mahāgaṇastha*, *Daussādhika*, *Chauroddharanika*, officers engaged over fleet, army, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, etc., the *Gaulmika*, *Daṇḍāpaśika*, *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Vishayapatīs* and all other servants of the king, mentioned in the list of *adhyakshas*, but not specified here, people of the class of *Chāṭṭas* and *Bhāṭṭas*, peasants, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the chief among *Brāhmaṇas*;

(Lines 37-54): Be it known to you that the village of *Vāllahitṭhā* consisting of 7 *bhū-pātakas*, 7 *droṇas*, 1 *āḍhaka*, 34 *unmānas* and 3 *kākas* of land including dwelling plates, canals and wastelands according to the *Vṛishabhamāṇḍala śaṅkara nala*³, yielding an income of 500 *kapardaka-purāṇas* per year, situated within the *Svalpa-Dakṣhiṇa-vīthi* belonging to the *Uttara-Rādhā* of the *Vardhamāna-bhukti* and having for its four boundaries as follows: (1) to the north of the river *Sīṅgaṭiā* flowing to the north of the village of *Khāṇḍayillā*; to the north-west of the same river *Sīṅgaṭiā* where it flows to the north of the village of *Nāḍichā*; (2) to the west of same river *Sīṅgaṭiā* where it flows to the west of the village of *Ambayillā*; (3) to the south of the southern boundary wall of *Kuḍumvamā*, also of the boundary wall going to the western direction on the west of *Kuḍum-vamā*, of the cattle path to the south of *Āuhāgaḍḍiyā* and of the boundary wall which commencing from the cattle path to the north of *Āuhāgaḍḍiyā*

¹ Cf. a similar expression regarding *Vallālasena*—*dainyottāpabhṛitām-akāḷajaladaḥ*, *Dānasāgara*, Intro., v. 5 (see Appendix.).

² The words *adīta* *Ovāsuvidushe* through wrong euphony occur as *adīto-Vāsuvidushe* instead of *adītau-Vāsuvidushe*, in the text.

³ See remarks below.

goes in a westerly direction to the northern boundary wall of Surakoṇā-gaḍḍiākīya ;

(4) to the east of the eastern boundary wall of the village Nāḍḍinā and partly to the east of the cattle path to the east of Jalasothī village as well as of the cattle path up to the river Siṅgaṭiā to the east of the village of Molāḍandī—

is given by Us, by a copper-plate, for as long as the sun and moon endure, according to the principle of Bhūmichchhidra, for the increase of the merit and fame of myself and my parents, as a fee to the preceptor, Śrī-Ovāsudevaśarmman, son of Lakshmīdharadevaśarmman, grandson of Bhadreśvaradevaśarmman, great-grandson of Varāhadevaśarmman, who belongs to the Bharadvāja gotra, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgīrasa, and Bārhaspatya pravara and is a follower of the Charaṇa of the Kauthuma Śākhā of the Sāmaveda, for the performance of the Great-Gift in which a golden horse is given away, by our mother Vilāsadevī on the occasion of a solar eclipse, on the banks of the Ganges,—along with forest and branches, pits and barren tracts, land and water, betelnut and coconut trees, with toleration of the Ten sins, exempt from all oppression, along with grass, *pūti* plant, and pasture-grounds, not to be entered by Chātṭas and Bhaṭṭas, free from all sorts of dues and along with taxes and tributes of gold enjoyed by the king.

(Lines 54-56) : Therefore you should all give your assent to it. It should be protected by future kings also (*considering that*) its taking away entails the fear of falling to Hell and its protection, great virtue. There are also verses in this matter, in praise of Dharma :

(Verse 15). Land has been given away by kings Sagara and others ; who-soever at any time owns the land to him belongs at that time the fruit (*of such grant*).

(Verse 16). He who receives a land grant and also he who bestows it both attain merit and always go to Heaven.

(Verse 17). "There is born a giver of land in our line, he will be our saviour"—(*thinking this*), departed fathers clap and grandfathers jump (*with joy*).

(Verse 18). The giver of land remains in Heaven for sixty thousand years and he who confiscates or assents to (*confiscation*) lives in Hell for the same period.

(Verse 19). He who takes away land given either by himself or by others rots along with his forefathers as a worm in dirt.

(Verse 20). Therefore, men should not destroy the good deeds of others considering that Fortune and human life are as uncertain as a drop of water on a lotus petal and also realising ^{the significance of} what has been cited.

(Line 64) : The year 11, the 16th day of Vaiśākha.

Endorsed by the illustrious (king). Endorsed by the Māhāsān(dhivi-grahika), the Karaṇa.

VIII. ĀNULIĀ COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This copper-plate was unearthed in 1898 in a village called Ānuliā, near Bānāghāt, in the Nadiā District of Bengal. It was first published by Pandit Rajanikānta Chakravartī in a Bengali Quarterly called *Ātīhāsika Chitra*, Vol. I, Part II (Rājshāhī, 1899), pp. 277-300 and facsimiles, and subsequently by Mr. A. K. Maitra, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIX (1900), Pt. I, pp. 61-65. I now edit it from the original copper-plate deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society. The inscription is translated here for the first time.

This is a **single plate**, rectangular in size, measuring $13\frac{1}{4}$ " by $11\frac{1}{2}$ ". A seal bearing the representation of the ten-armed deity Sadāśiva,¹ within a circular dotted border, is affixed to the top of the plate as in other land-grants of the Sena dynasty. The writing, which is carefully executed, covers both the sides. It consists of 56 lines of which twenty-eight are on the obverse and twenty-eight on the reverse. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$ ".



The **characters** are the precursors of the modern Bengali, as found generally in the Sena copper-plates. Compared with the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena² this copper-plate presents some points of clear difference in alphabetic forms, such as those of *t*, *dh*, *m*, the subscript *ū*, and the sign for *visarga*. Such differences, however, do not appear, when it is compared with the Barrackpore copper-plate of Vijayasena.³ The reading of the rare letter *jh*, which occurs in *sa-jhātaviṭapa* (l. 38), calls for special remarks. This compound word is found in the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva, dated 1184-85 A. D.; and the late Prof. Kielhorn in reading the second letter as *jhā* remarked, "as regards the letter *jh*, it will suffice to compare the sign for *jh* (which is almost exactly like *jh* of the modern Bengali) in *jhāta* in l. 41 of the inscription, and that for *jjh* in the

¹ Sadāśiva is intimately associated with the *Shatçakra* conception of the Tāntrikas. He is one of the 'six. Sivas': Brahmā, Vishnu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva and Paraśiva (*Rudrayāmala-Tantra*, Rasikamōhan's edition, p. 56; compare also p. 88 and p. 128). Sadāśiva is also one of the five Mahā-Pretas (Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, Vol. II, p. 390, n. 4 and p. 392). A description corresponding to the figure on the seals is according to A. K. Maitra, found in the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, ullāsa XIV (See Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 6-7). But it must be observed that some of the attributes assigned to the deity are not traceable on the seals and in the stone images deposited in the Museums of the Varendra Research Society, Rājshāhī and the Calcutta Sāhitya Parishad. All the attributes found in these representations of Sadāśiva tally on the other hand with a passage quoted by T. A. Gopinath Rao from Chapter 43 of the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama* (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 197) and an extract from the *Garuḍapurāṇa* quoted by Pandit Rajanikānta Chakravartī in his *History of Gaur*, Part I, p. 215, n.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, plate opposite p. 308.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, plates opposite pp. 282, 283.

akshara j̥hi (not *j̥hi*) of *uj̥hita* in l. 21 of the Deopārā inscription with the quite different signs for the same letters in the words *j̥hatiti* and *uj̥hita* in lines 28 and 7 of Vaidyadeva's plates."¹ Prof. Kielhorn further pointed out that "the term *sa-j̥hāta-viṭapa* also occurs in l. 38 of the Tarapanadighi plate of Lakshmanasena (*Journ. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLIV, Pt. I, p. 12), in line 45 of the Madanapādā plate of Viśvarūpasena (*ibid.* Vol. LXV, Pt. I, p. 13), and in line 50 of the Baker-gunj plate of the same (*ibid.* Vol. VII, p. 46)."² Since then a few more Sena land-grants have come to light, and some of the already known records have been re-edited. It may be noted that the reading proposed by Kielhorn does not seem to have obtained general acceptance. Thus in his paper on the Naihātī grant of Vallālasena Mr. R. D. Banerji reads, in l. 47 of the record, *sa-sāṭa-viṭapa* and remarks in a footnote that this "may also be read *sa-j̥hāta*, but *sa-sāṭa* is the reading of other Sena grants."³ The second letter which is often read as *s* and often as *j̥h* has the following appearance

in Sena copper-plates:  . The regular form of *s*, on the otherhand, occurring in them is:  . In view of such important difference in form

presented by the two signs it is not possible to read both of them as the same letter. The clue to the correct reading *j̥h* is furnished no doubt by the Assam plates, where, as Kielhorn has shown, the letter agrees with its modern Bengali form. The expression *sa-j̥hāta-viṭapa* occurs also in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla. The letter used there⁴ is somewhat earlier in type than that found in the Assam plates, and is akin to the specimens occurring in the Sena copper-plates. The Bengali type of *j̥h* employed in the former is found also in *sa-j̥hāta-viṭap-āranya* in the Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta II, l. 11.⁵

The language is Sanskrit of a highly artificial character, the text being partly in prose and partly in verse. As regards orthography the following points may be noted. The same sign is used throughout both for *v* and *b*. The letter *s* is used instead of *ś* only once, in *bhūyasah* (l. 24). Class-naṣals are not replaced by *anusvāra*, the only exception being *vimdu* for

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 182, note. For the letter *j̥h* in the Deopārā inscription see Bühler, *Ind. Pal.*, Table V, XVIII. 18.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 195, note 1.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 161.

⁴ *Vaṅgīya-sāhitya-parishat-patrikā*, Vol. V, plate opp. p. 144.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 134, n. 3. The same type of *j̥h* occurs also in a grant of Daṇḍimahādevī of the year 180, l. 42. See Kielhorn, *ibid.*, p. 134.

vindu (l. 52). After a superscript *r*, *bh* is doubled, e. g. in *r-bbhūyasah* (l. 24). The word *duḥkha* is written as *dushkha* (l. 4). The change of the *visarga* occurring before a guttural, into a lingual sibilant, perhaps represents the actual pronunciation. This feature occurs also in the same word in l. 4 of the Tarpaṇadīghi copper-plate.¹ In l. 15 we have the incorrect form *datvā* instead of *dattvā*. The *avagraha* sign is used in four cases out of nine. In respect of **lexicography** the words *jhāṭa* and *nala* deserve special notice (for the latter see below). Prof. Kielhorn thinks that *jhāṭa* is probably a Dravidian word. It is wellknown from Sanskrit dictionaries (see Monier-Williams, *sub voce*), where the meaning 'arbour' or 'forest' has been assigned to it. Hemachandra in his *Anekārthasaṃgraha*² regards *kuñja* and *kāntāra* as synonyms of *jhāṭa*. This etymology of the word is confirmed by the occurrence of such expressions as *sa-viṭap-āranya* in certain land-grants,³ where *aranya* seems to have been used in place of *jhāṭa*. Proper names such as Jhāḍakhaṇḍa⁴ (the Santhal Parganas), Jhāragrāma and so on, as well as the modern Bengali *jhād*, denoting a 'cluster of trees,' may be compared in this connection. (See 'Bengali Dictionary' by Joges Chandra Ray, Part II, p. 355).

The record begins with obeisance to god Nārāyaṇa and an invocation in two verses to god Śiva and the moon. It then gives in seven verses the genealogy of the Sena kings from Hemantasena to Lakshmaṇasena, which are found also in the Tarpaṇadīghi and Sundarban copper-plates of Lakshmaṇasena. In the Sena family was born **Hemantasena** (v. 4) from whom sprang **Vijayasena** (v. 5). The latter's son was **Vallālasena** (v. 6), and Vallālasena's son, **Lakshmaṇasena** (v. 7). Regarding this king the copper-plate gives three new stanzas (vv. 8-10), which are not found elsewhere.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land, viz., a field, Mātharaṇḍiyā-khaṇḍa-khsetra (l. 38), by **Lakshmaṇasena**, who is described as *Parameśvara*, *Paramavaishṇava*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. The plate was issued from the 'victorious camp' (*jaya-skandhāvāra*) situated at **Vikramapura**. The land granted was within the jurisdiction of **Vyāghrataṭī** belonging to the **Paundravarddhana-bhukti** (ll. 34-5). The donee was *paṇḍita* Raghu-devaśarman, son of Devadāsa-devaśarman, grandson of Saṃkara-devaśarman

¹ See also Chaṭsu inscription of Bālāditya, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 11.

² See Nirṇayasāgara ed. of the *Abhidhānasamgraha*.

³ See Mahāda plates of Yogeśvaravarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 220 and Sōnpur plates of Sōmeśvaradeva, *ibid.*, p. 240.

⁴ Cf. the same term used in a copper-plate of Nṛsiṃhadeva III—*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, Pt. I, p. 256 (l. 19).

and great-grandson of Vipradāsa-devaśarman, belonging to the Kauśika *gotra*, Viśvāmitra, Bandhula and Kauśika *pravaras* and a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. The date of the grant is the ninth day of Bhādra of the third year of Lakshmaṇasena (l. 56). The *dūtaka* is the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta, who is also the *dūtaka* of Lakshmaṇasena's Tarpaṇadīghi, Sundarban and Govindapur copper-plates. Regarding the localities, which I am unable to identify, it need only be mentioned that Vyāghrataṭī is described as a *maṇḍala* of the Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti in the Khālimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla¹ and simply as a *maṇḍala*, in the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla.²

In lines 36-38 it is stated that the amount of 1 ādhāvāpa, 37 unmānas and 1 kākinikā of land was measured according to the *Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-nala*. This phrase occurs also in the corresponding passages of the Naihāṭī grant of Vallālasena (*śrī-Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-nalena*, ll. 44-45) in connection with a grant of land in the Uttara-Rādhā-maṇḍala of the Vardhamāna-bhukti. *Vṛishabha-śaṅkara*, as it appears from the Madanapādā, Idilpur, as well as the Barrackpore grants, was the *viruda* of king Vijayasena, the grand-father of Lakshmaṇasena. It occurs in the form 'Ari-rāja-vṛishabha-śaṅkara' in the first two copper-plates and as 'Ari-vṛishabha-śaṅkara' in the last mentioned record. Vijayasena must have introduced some new standard of land measurement, and this evidently was called after him. The present inscription makes it certain that it continued at least upto the time of his grandson. In his own landgrant, however, Vijayasena is represented as giving away land according to the Samatāṭīya-nala, i. e. the *nala* current in Samatāṭa.³ It is not possible to determine whether this is the same as the *Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-nala* and came to be so called at a later period. A passage in the Tarpaṇadīghi copper-plate indicates that different systems of measurement were in vogue in different parts of Bengal. In l. 36 of that plate mention is made that certain land was given in the Varendrī region by king Lakshmaṇasena, and that it was measured according to the *nala* prevalent in that particular locality (*tatratya-deśa-vyavahāra-nalena*). When these documents are compared, it seems that while the *Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-nala* was current in the Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍala a different *nala* measurement obtained in the Varendrī-maṇḍala. According to the Govindapur copper-plate the *nala* current in the Vardhamāna-bhukti consisted of 56 cubits. In one of the Dāmodarpur copper-plates of Budhagupta the phrase *asṭaka-navaka-*

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

³ See above p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 323.

[illegible]

nalābhyām occurs in connection with the measurement of land¹ and the same is found also in certain Faridpur copper-plates,² where, however, the word *nala* is used in its singular form. Mr. Pargiter in his article on the Faridpur plates made an attempt to explain the phrase and came to the conclusion that it had reference to land measurement according to 8 by 9 *nalas*. He would take *nala* in the sense of a 'reed' consisting of a number of cubits varying according to the locality.³ Vṛishabha-śaṅkara-nala, as already stated, was evidently a standard introduced by the king. An analogy is furnished by the Nilgund inscription of Taila II, which refers to the allotment of land according to the king's measuring rod (*rājamānena daṇḍena*).⁴ Reference to a standard *nala* fixed by officers of the crown occurs in an Orissa plate of Nṛsiṃhadeva which has *Chandradāsa-karaṇasya nalapramāṇena* and *Srī-karaṇa-Sivadāsa-nāmaka-nala-pramāṇena*.⁵

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ⁶ ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्युद्यत्र मणियुतिः फणिपतेर्बालेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं वारि
- 2 स्वर्ग-तरङ्गिणी सितशिरोमाला वलाकावलिः । ध्यानाभ्यासममीरणोपनि-
- 3 हितः श्रेयोङ्करोद्भूतये भूयाहः स भवार्त्ति-तापभिदुरः शम्भोः कपर्दीम्बुदः ॥⁷ [1.]
- 4 आनन्दोम्बुनिधौ चकोर-निकरे दुष्वच्छिदात्यन्तिकी⁸ कङ्कारे हतमोहता⁹ रति-
- 5 पतावेकीहमेवेति धोः । यस्यामी अमृतात्मनः समुदयन्याशुप्रकाशाज्जगत्-
- 6 त्रि¹⁰-ध्यानपरम्परापरिणतं¹¹ न्योतिस्तदास्ताम्बुदे ॥¹² [2*] सेवाव नमनृपकोटि-किरी-
- 7 ट-रोचिरम्बुलसत्पद-नखद्युति-वल्लरोभिः । तेजोविष-ज्वर-मुषो द्विषताम-
- 8 भूवन् भूमौभुजः स्फुटमथौषधिनाथ-वंशे ॥¹³ [3*] आ-कौमार-विकस्वरैर्द्विषि दि-
- 9 शि प्रस्यन्दिभिर्द्विर्यशः-प्राप्तये रिपुराज¹⁴-वत्तनलिन-स्नानोः समुन्मीलयन् । हे-
- 10 मन्तः स्फुटमेव¹⁵ सेन-जननचेत्तौघ-पुण्यावलीशालिञ्जाव्यविपाकपीवरगुणस्ते-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 136 (l. 10).

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, pp. 195-96, 201, and 204.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

⁴ Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 206 (ll. 21-22) and p. 208.

⁵ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, Pt. I, p. 256 (l. 12) and p. 255 (l. 2 and l. 7)

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸ Read *dukkha*. This form occurs also in Tarpanadighi plate, l. 4.

⁹ Cf. *hata-mohyatā* in Tarpanadighi plate, l. 4.

¹⁰ Maitra reads *Attrer*.

¹¹ Maitra reads *s-tavā*.

¹² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ Cf. *ari-rāja* in Tarpanadighi plate.

¹⁵ The second *na* was omitted through inadvertence and added afterwards.

- 11 षामभूदंशजः ॥¹ [4*] यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजतेजस्सहचरैर्यशोभिः शोभन्ते
 12 परिधि-परिणद्धा इव दिशः । ततः काञ्ची-लौला-चतुर-चतुरभोधिलहरो-परोतोर्वी-
 13 भर्ताजनि विजयसेनः स विजयी ॥² [5*] प्रत्यूहः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदाय-
 नैकाध्वगः
 14 सङ्ग्रामः श्रित-जङ्गमाकृतिरभूदल्लालसेनस्ततः । यश्चेतोमयमेव शौर्यं विजयी
 15 दत्तौषधं³ तत्क्षणादक्षीणा रचयाञ्चकार वशगाः स्वस्मिन् परेषां श्रियः ।⁴ [6*]
 सन्भुक्ता-
 16 न्यदिगङ्गनागण-गुणाभोगप्रलोभाद्दिशामीशैरंश-समर्पणेन घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभाव⁵-स्फु-
 17 टैः । दोरुषक्षपितारि-सङ्गररसो राजन्यधर्माश्रयः श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेन-भूपतिर-
 18 तः सौजन्यसौमाजनि ॥⁶ [7*] आन्नायः प्रणिनाय यानि मुनयो यान्यस्मरन्
 संस्तुतान्या-
 19 चारेषु च यानि तानि ददिरे दानानि दैन्यद्रुहा । क्लीणस्त्वे च तथाप्यनेन नियमं का-
 20 लेषु संख्याततान्देयेष्वर्थिनमन्तरेण⁷ च फलाशंसां⁸ विधौ शृण्वता ॥⁹ [8*]
 समयमपि स-
 21 सुद्धतं नुमस्तं तदसि-महौषधमुद्धभूव यत्न । भवति परपुरप्रवेश-सिद्धिः कर-वि-
 22 धृते सक्तदेव यस्य मूले ॥¹⁰ [9*] यान् सम्बन्ध्य जगत्तयो-वितरणे मित्रैर्व्वलिर्व्वारितो
 यैः स-
 23 ज्ञस्य न गङ्गया क्षणमपि स्वर्गोपि¹¹ संस्मर्यते । तानुच्चैरतिशायि-शालिवंसुधाना-
 24 राम-रम्यान्तरान्विप्रेभ्योयमदत्त पत्तनगणान् भूमिपतिर्व्भूयसः ॥¹² [10*] स खलु
 श्रीवि-
 25 क्रामपुर-समावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् । महाराजाधिराज-श्रीवल्लालसेन-
 26 देवपादानुध्यात-परमेश्वर-परमवैष्णव-प(र)मभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीम
 27 ल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवः कुशलौ समुपगताशेषराज-राजन्यक-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपु-
 28 त्र-राजामात्य-पुरोहित-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्धिविशदिक-महासेनापति-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Read *datto*.

³ The last few letters are very closely written.

⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵ Maitra reads *-śamsā*.

⁶ Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

⁷ Metre : Śikharinī.

⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁹ Maitra reads *arthi*.

¹⁰ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹¹ The *r*-stroke is not clear.

¹² Read *bbhūyaśah*. Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

Reverse.

- 29 महामुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्गहृदपरिक-महाक्षपटलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महा-
 30 भोगिक-महापौलुपति-महागणस्थ-दौस्साधिक-चौरोद्वरणिक-नौबल-ह-
 31 स्थश्व-गोमहिषाजाविकादि-व्याघ्रतक-गौल्लिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विष-
 32 यपत्यादीन् । अन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजोविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकी-
 33 र्त्तितान् । चट्ट-भट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् । क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथा-
 34 हं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां । यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धन-
 भुक्त्यन्तः-
 35 पाति-व्याघ्रतय्याम् । पूर्वे अश्वत्थवृक्षः सीमा । दक्षिणे जलपित्ता सीमा ।
 पश्चिमे शा-
 36 न्तिगोपौशासनं सीमा । उत्तरे मालामञ्जवाटी सीमा । इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नं
 वृषभश
 37 झर-नलेन¹ सकाकिनीक-सप्तत्रिंशदुन्मानाधिकादावापान्वित-नवद्रोणोत्तर-भू-पाट-
 38 कैकात्मकं संवत्सरेण कपर्दक-पुराणशतैकोत्पत्तिकं माथरगिड्या-खण्डक्षेत्रं
 स-भ्ता-
 39 ट-विटपं सजलस्थलं सगर्तोषरं सगुवाक-नारिकेलं सद्यदशापराधं परिहृत-सर्व-
 40 पौण्ड्रं² अचट्ट-भट्ट-प्रवेशं³ अकिञ्चित्प्रग्राह्यं दण-पूति-गोचरपर्यन्तं विप्रदासदेव-
 41 शर्म्माणः प्रपौत्राय शङ्करदेवशर्म्माणः पौत्राय देवदासदेवशर्म्माणः पुत्राय कौ-
 42 शिक-सगोत्राय विश्वामित्र-बन्धुल-कौशिक-प्रवराय यजुर्वेद-काण्वशाखाध्यायि-
 43 ने पण्डित-श्रीरघुदेवशर्म्माणे पुण्येऽहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्ना-
 44 रायण-भट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्य-यशोऽभिवृद्धये उत्सृज्य आ-
 45 चन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं यावत् भूमिच्छिद्र-न्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमस्मा-
 46 भिः । तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यं । भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे नर-
 47 क-पात-भयात् पालने धर्म-गौरवात् पालनीयम् । भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुश-
 48 सिनः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [१*] उभौ⁴ तौ पुण्य-
 49 कर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥⁵ [११*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां म्वा⁶ यो हरति व-

¹ Maitra reads *-śaṅkara-nalina-sakākinika* etc.. The *e* stroke in *nalena* is quite clear. Compare the corresponding passages in the Naihati (line 45) and the Tarpanadighi (line 36) copper-plates which have respectively *Samataṣṭiya-nalena*, *Vrishabhaśaṅkara-nalena* and *taṭṭaṭya-deśavyavahāra-nalena*.

² Read *piṣam*.

³ Read *praveśam*.

⁴ The letter *u* was first omitted through inadvertence and added afterwards.

⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Read *dattām vā*.

- 50 सुम्भराम् । स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥¹ [12*] आस्कोटयन्ति
 51 पितरो वलायन्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदाता कुले जातस्स नस्त्राता भवि-
 52 यति ॥² [13*] इति कमलदलाम्बु-विन्दु-लोलां त्रियमनुचिन्ध मनुष्य-जीवितं च
 53 सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्धा³ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलो-
 54 प्याः ॥⁴ [14*] श्रीमल्लज्मणसेनो नारायणदत्त-सान्धिविग्रहिकम् ।
 55 रघुदेवशासनेऽकृत दूतं भूमण्डलीबलमिह ॥^{4a} [15*]
 56 सं ३ भाद्र-दिने ६ महासां नि ॥ श्री नि⁵ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Om. Om. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(Verse 1). May that cloud, namely, the matted hair of Śambhu⁶, which removes the heat of suffering of (*this*) existence, having the flash of the jewel of the lord of serpents as its lightning, the crescent-moon (*on the fore-head of the god*) as its bow of Indra, the Heavenly River as its water, the string of white skulls as its line of cranes—and which contains within itself the air controlled by meditation, lead to the growth of the sprout of your (*tree of*) welfare.

(Verse 2).⁷ May the light, (*which is*) born of the continuous meditation of Atri⁸, be to (*your*) rejoicing—the light of the nectar-bodied one, at whose appearance in this world there spring up forthwith joy on the sea, feeling of absolute safety in *chakora* birds, absence of stupour in lilies and the god of Love realises that he is non-pareil.

(Verse 3). In that line of the Lord of Plants⁹ there flourished kings who cured their enemies of the fever arising out of power-poison by means of (*medicinal*) creepers¹⁰, which were (nothing but) the splendour of the nails of their feet nurtured (*as it were*) by water which was again the brilliance of the crowns of krores of kings bent low in allegiance (*to them*).

(Verse 4). There sprang up Hemantasena, a member of that family, the

¹ Metre : Anushtubh.

² Read *buddhvā*.

^{3a} Metre : Āryā.

² Metre : Anushtubh.

⁴ Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

⁵ After *ni* in every case there is blank space left showing evidently that some letters or words are understood.

⁶ Cf. similar passages regarding Śiva's head and matted hair in *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 13-14 and 17-18. The comparison of Śiva's head to the cloud is wellknown. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14, v. 4.

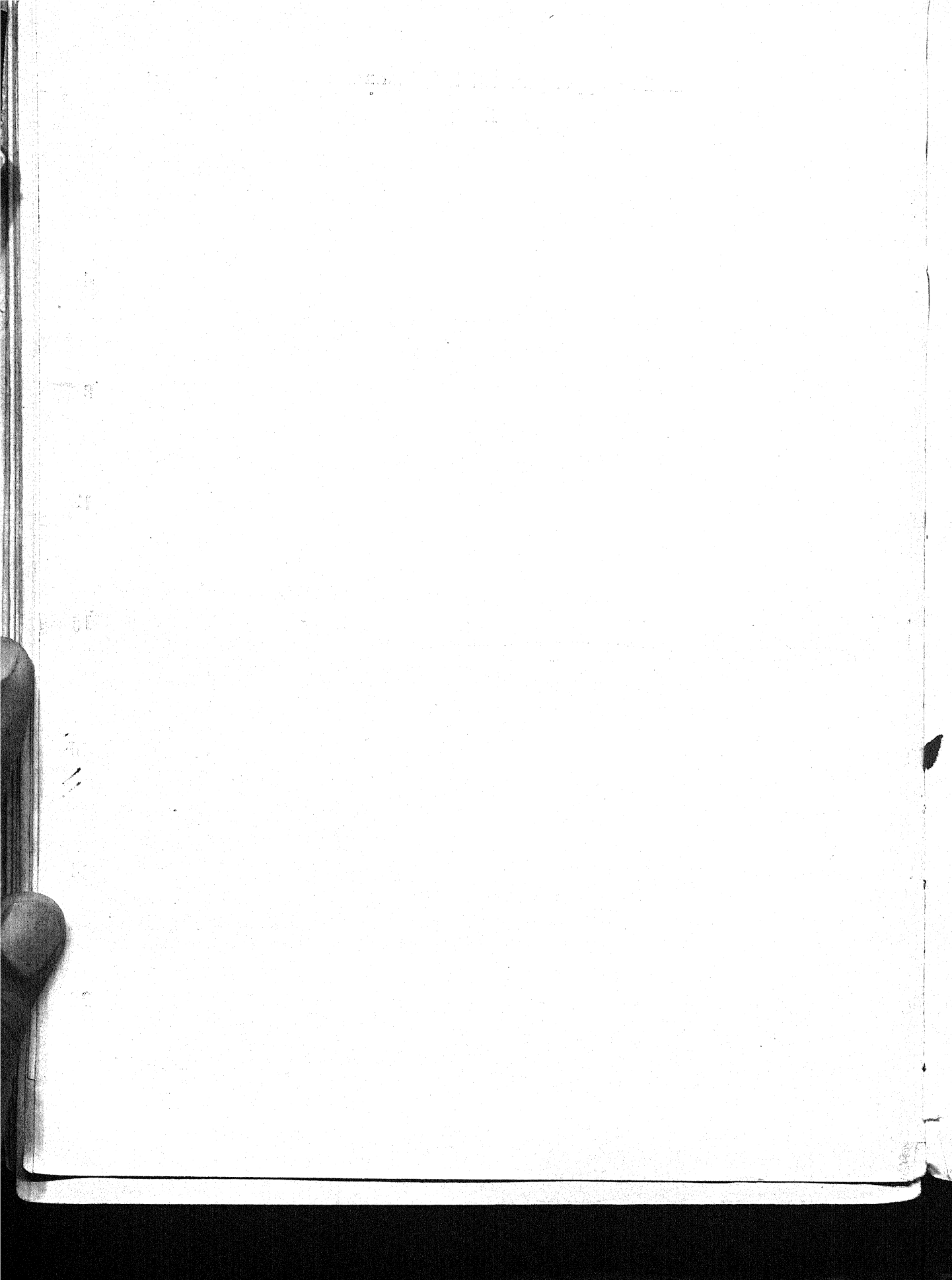
⁷ Cf. Nāihāṭī grant of Vallālasena, v. 2 for a description of the moon.

⁸ Moon was born from the light of the eyes of Atri. Cf. Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarman, v. 1.

⁹ I. B. Moon.

¹⁰ There is evidently a pun on the word *oshadhi*; thus the Sena kings are compared to successful physicians who by administering medicinal creepers can cure a patient attacked by poisonous fever. Here the poison is power.

ਸੰਤਤਾਵਤਿਨੰ ੧ ਸਦਾਸ਼ਾਂਤਿ ੫ ਗ੍ਰੀਸਿ ੫



frost-like fame of whose arms, expanding since his youth and flowing into every direction, turned pale the lotus-like faces of his adversaries; and 'Hemanta' indeed was he, for in him the virtues of the Sena family reached an admirable culmination, just as in the Autumn (*Hemanta*) the rice crops in the the fields¹ attain maturity.

(Verse 5). His renown, associated with the strength of his mighty arms, adorns even to-day all the quarters and envelops the horizon. From him was born the victorious **Vijayasena**, the husband of the Earth (-lady) who, being encircled by the waves of the four oceans, looked charming on account of the play of her zone.

(Verse 6). From him was born **Vallālasena**, the active enemy of Kali's fortune and a follower of that unique path, viz. of the Vedas. He had the appearance of a moving incarnation of war—and triumphant in his valour he could immediately bring unto control the undiminished Fortune-goddesses of his enemies simply by administering mental drug.²

(Verse 7). Next was born the illustrious king **Lakshmanasena**, the standard of gentlemanliness, in the heat of whose arms dried up the warlike spirit of his enemies. In him resided all the virtues of kingship, as the lords of the quarters manifesting their distinctive powers, brought him into being by contributing parts of their own, impelled by a desire that they would now be able to enjoy the charms of (each one of) the Nymphs of the Quarters.³

(Verse 8). But inspite of his being so gentle in nature he was an enemy of poverty. Having listened to (*from scriptures*) the principles regarding the bestowal of gifts and (*proper*) recipients (*thereof*), which had become extensive in number in course of ages, and also about the expectation of fruits in this matter (*i. e.* gift), he distributed such gifts as the sacred lore prescribed, sages enjoined and were praised in current practice.

(Verse 9). We admire that virile season in which sprang up the great medicinal herb, namely, his sword. The moment it is grasped at the root, it is sure to prove efficacious in entering the cities of foes.

(Verse 10). That king gave away to Brāhmaṇas myriads of excellent villages, consisting of land excessively growing paddy and beautifully

¹ Here there is a pun on *Hemanta*, *kshetra* and *śālī*.

² *I. E.* only by thinking, so that his success was dependant only on an effort of the mind. He had not to make any physical effort.

³ As the king is constituted of the portions of the Eight *Dikpālas*, Indra, Varuṇa and others (Cf. *Manu*, VII, verses 4-7) and as he is the ruler of the Eight Quarters these *Dikpālas* are able to enjoy the Nymphs of all the quarters through him. This idea is expressed in an extremely round about manner in the above verse.

interspersed with gardens. Even Bali was dissuaded by his friends from parting with these, when he was distributing the three worlds. Coming in contact with these villages even the river Ganges did not care to think of Heaven for a moment.

(Lines 24-34) : Now,—from the victorious camp established at **Vikramapura**, the *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Vishṇu, the *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasenadeva**, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vallālasenadeva**, being in good health, duly honours, informs and orders those that have assembled, viz., all the *Rājans*, *Rājanyas*, *Rājanyakas*, the queen (*rājñī*), *Rānakas*, *Rājaputras*, the prime-minister (*rājāmātya*), the priest (*purohita*), *Mahādharmmadhyaksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅgabṛihaduparika*, *Mahākshapatalika*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahābhogika*, *Mahāpīlupati*, *Mahāgaṇastha*, *Daussādhika*, *Chauroddharanika*, officers engaged on fleet, army, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., the *Gaulmika*, *Daṇḍapāsika*, *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Vishayapatis* and all other servants of the king mentioned in the list of *adhyakshas* but not specified here, people of the class of *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, peasants, the Brāhmaṇas, and the best among Brāhmaṇas :

(Lines 34-46) : Be it approved by you that a plot of land (of the village of) **Mātharaṇḍiyā** within **Vyāghrataṭī**, which is situated in the **Paundravarddhana-bhukti**, having for its four boundaries as follows, viz., the banyan tree as its boundary on the east, Jalapillā as its boundary on the south, Śāntigōpī-śāsana as its boundary on the west and Mālāmañcha-vāṭī as its boundary on the north,—which measures 1 *pātaka*, 9 *dronas*, 1 *āḍhāvāpa*, 37 *unmānas* and 1 *kākinikā* and yields per year 100 *kaparddaka-purāṇas*, is given by Us, to last as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure, by a copper-plate, according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra*, along with forest and branches, land and water, pits and barren tracts, betelnut and cocoanut trees, with toleration of the Ten Sins, exempt from all oppression, not to be entered by *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, free from all sorts of dues, along with grass, *pūti* plant and pasture-grounds, to the **Paṇḍita**, the illustrious Raghudevaśarman, son of Devadāsa-devaśarman and grandson of Vipradāsadevaśarman, of the Kauśika *gotra*, and Viśvāmitra, Bandhula and Kuśika *pravaras*, a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda, on this auspicious day after having duly touched water, in the name of Lord Nārāyaṇa, for the increase of merit and fame of myself and my parents.

(Lines 46-48) : Therefore you should all give your assent to it. It should be protected by future kings also considering that its taking away entails the

fear of falling to hell and its protection, great virtue. There are also verses in this matter, enjoining Dharma :

[Here follow three of the customary verses already translated on p. 79 : vv. 16, 19 and 17].

(Verse 15) The illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, who can repulse the forces of the whole world, made the Sāndhivigrahika Nārāyaṇadatta, *Dūta* of the grant of Raghudeva.

(Line 56) The year 3, the 9th day of Bhādra. Approved by the Mahāsān(dhivigrahika). Approved by the illustrious (king).

IX. GOVINDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This copper-plate was discovered about ten years ago in the excavation of a tank in the village of Govindapur, in the district of 24 Parganas, near the Bāruipur station of the Diamond Harbour Branch of the E. B. Railway. Soon after its discovery it was sent to Pandit Amūlya Charan Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who exhibited it in a meeting of the Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat of Calcutta. In 1923 the record was noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Bāṅglar Itihās* (second edition), pp. 327 & 335. Pandit Vidyābhūṣaṇa has recently published his transcript and translation in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratavarsha*, 1332 B. S., pp. 441-45 and plates. I have never had an opportunity of examining the original copper-plate, but the learned Pandit very kindly placed at my disposal some time ago two photographs of the record on which the present edition is based. The principal points of difference between his text and mine have been indicated in the footnotes.

This is a **single plate** measuring according to Pandit Vidyābhūṣaṇa $13\frac{1}{2}$ " by $12\frac{1}{2}$ ". It bears a seal, containing a finely preserved representation of Sadāśiva, attached to the top. The writing which also seems to be very well-preserved consists of 53 lines, of which twenty-six are engraved on the obverse and twenty-seven on the reverse. The engraver having come to the end of line 46 evidently realised that the available space on the plate would not be sufficient for the concluding portion of the text unless the size of the letters were reduced. Hence from line 47 onwards he has engraved the letters in a comparatively small size.

The **characters** belong to a variety of Northern alphabets which may be called the precursors of modern Bengali, and were current in Bengal in the twelfth century A. D. The old sign of the initial *i* consisting of two dots and an upright stroke is totally absent in this inscription and there is instead the proto-Bengali form of the letter in every case. The sign of the initial *au*, which corresponds exactly to the modern Bengali sign, occurs in *Aurvva*, in l. 43. Other noteworthy forms are those of the conjunct *jj*, e. g. in *-jjayaskandhāvārāt*, in l. 22, *jñ*, e. g. in *rājñī*, in l. 26 and *ṅgh* in *Leṅghadeva*, in l. 25.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *om om namaḥ Sivāya* the text almost upto the end of line 21, and from about the middle of line 49 to about the end of line 53, is in verse. The rest is in prose. The verses which are eleven in number are composed in a variety of metres,

viz. *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Śikharinī*, *Anuṣṭubh*, *Pushpitāgrā* and *Āryā*. In several places words within a compound have not been joined by rules of euphony, e. g. *pañchadaśa-purāṇa-utpatti-niyame*, in line 38. Other grammatical irregularities like the retention of inflexional forms in a compound, e. g. in *Gosvāmīdevaśarmmanah* (ll. 41-42) have been pointed out in their proper places. These are undoubtedly due to the influence of the Vernacular. Lexicographically such words as *khāṭikā* (l. 34) and *ḍālimba* (l. 35) are interesting. The word *khāṭikā* ('ditch' or 'canal') is here used most probably as part of a proper name (*Paśchimakhāṭikā*, 'the western ditch'). It is used again in l. 43 of the Khālimpur copper-plate¹ and probably as *khāḍī* in l. 35 of the Tarpaṇadīghi plate and as *khāta* in the Sundarban plate. The word *ḍālimba* ('pomegranate') corresponds to modern Bengali *ḍālim* of which another Sanskritized form *dāḍimba* occurs in line 21 of the Deopārā inscription.

In respect of orthography the following points should be noted : both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign ; the letter following a superscript *r* is generally doubled ; the *avagraha* sign is used in three out of six cases, while in *anyāṃścha* (l. 30) it wrongly takes the place of *a* ; and the *r*-stroke in many cases is dropped. The word *duḥkha* is written as *dushkha* in l. 4.² The engraver has misread his draft in a good many cases, one of the most glaring instances being *vikamāraśvarai* for *vikasvaraiḥ*, in line 9.

The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramanārasimha*³, *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Lakshmaṇasena*deva, 'who meditated on the feet of' the *Parameśvara*, *Paramavaishṇava*, *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Vallālasena*deva, and opens exactly as the Tarpaṇadīghi, Ānuliā and Sundarban copper-plates (see below). The genealogy is described in seven verses which are the same, and occur in the same order, as in those three copper-plates. After the seventh verse the Tarpaṇadīghi has one and the Ānuliā three additional verses, none of which is found in the present record and the Sundarban copper-plate. The document was issued from 'the camp of victory' situated at *Vikramapura* (lines 21-22). After the customary list of officers and other persons connected with this grant (ll. 25-32) it is stated that the village granted was *Viddāraśāsana*, of which the boundaries are given (see translation). It consisted of 60 *dronas* and 17 *unmānas* of land measured according to the Nala standard of 56 cubits,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

² This spelling occurs also in other Śena copper-plates, e. g. Ānuliā and Tarpaṇadīghi.

³ This title is used by Lakshmaṇasena also in his *Mādhānagar* and Sundarban copper-plates.

prevalent in the locality and yielding an annual income of 900 *purāṇas* at the rate of 15 *purāṇas* to the *drona*. The village was situated in **Betaḍḍachaturaka**, in **Paśchimakhāṭikā** in **Vardhamāna-bhukti** (ll. 33-39). The donee was the *upādhyāya* Vyāsadevaśarman, son of Śrinivāsadevaśarman, grandson of Chahaladevaśarman and great grandson of Gosvāmidevaśarman, belonging to the Vātsya *gotra*, Vatsya, Chyavana, Āpnuvat, Aurvva, and Jāmadagnya *pravaras* and a follower of the *charaṇas* of the Kauthuma *sākhā* of the Sāmaveda (ll. 41-45). The grant was made on the occasion of the coronation ceremony (of king Lakshmaṇasena) (l. 46). The *Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇa-datta acted as the *dūta* of this grant. The date is the **regnal year 2** (ll. 52-53). Unlike other Sena copper-plates the present one has no official endorsement at the end.

Vardhamānabhukti, which is also mentioned in the Naihāṭī copper-plate, seems to have extended at least as far as the western bank of the Ganges near Calcutta. Betaḍḍa-chaturaka in which the village Viḍḍāraśāsana was situated, having the Ganges as its eastern boundary, is identifiable with modern Betaḍ in Howrah district.¹ It would be interesting to enquire whether near Betaḍ there is at present any place answering to 'Dharmanagara', which is given as one of the boundaries of Viḍḍāraśāsana.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ² ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्युद्यत्र मणियुतिः फणिपतेर्बालेन्दुरिन्द्राय-
- 2 -धं वारि स्वर्ग-तरङ्गिणी सित-(सि)शिरोमाला वलाकावलिः । ध्यानाभ्यास-
- 3 समीरणोपनिहितः श्रेयोङ्कुरोद्भूतये भूयादः स भवार्त्ति-ताप-भिदु-
- 4 -रः शम्भोः कप[र्द्दी]म्बुदः³ ॥⁴ [1 *] आनन्दोऽस्मिन्निधौ चकोरनिकरे दुष्खच्छिदात्य-
- 5 न्तिकी⁵ कङ्कारे हतमोहता रतिपतावेकोहमेवेति धीः । यस्यामी श्रमृता-
- 6 त्मनः समुद्यन्त्याशुप्रकाशाज्जगत्त्रिध्यान-परम्परापरिणत⁶ ज्योतिस्तदास्तां सु-
- 7 दे ॥⁷ [2 *] सेवावनस्त्र-नृपकोटि-किरोटरोचिरम्बूजसत्पदनखद्युति-वल्गरौभिः [1*]
- 8 तेजोविषज्वरमुषो द्विषतामभूवन्⁸ भूमीभुजः स्फुटमथौषधि-नाथवं

¹ Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihās* (second edition), p. 335.

² The *r*-stroke is not clear.

³ Read *dukkha*.

⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ V. (= Vidyābhūṣaṇa) reads *tyante dhyāna*.

⁸ The *sh* in *dvishatām* is written without its middle stroke, like *ya*.

- 9 शे ॥¹ [3 *] आकौमार-विकमारकस्वरै² दिशि³ दिशि प्रस्यन्दिभि⁴ दोयंशःप्राले-
 10 -ये रिपुराजवक्त्रनलिनन्तानोः समुन्नीलयन् [।*] हेमन्तः स्फुटमेव शेनज-⁵
 11 -ननचेत्तस्य पुण्यावलीशालियावलिपाक⁶-पीवरगुणस्तेषां मभूदंश-
 12 -यः (जः) ॥⁷ [4 *] यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचित-भुजतेजःसहचरै यशोभिः⁸ शोभ-
 13 न्ते परिधिपरिणद्धा इव दिशः। ततः काञ्ची-लौला-चतुर-चतुरम्भो-
 14 धि-लहरीपरीतो[र्वी]-भ[र्त्ता]जनि⁹ विजयसेनः स विजयी ॥¹⁰ [5 *]
 प्रत्यू
 15 -हः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदायनैकाध्वगः सङ्ग्रामः श्रितज-
 16 ङ्गमाकृतिरभूदलालसेनस्ततः। यश्चेतोमयमेव श्रीयंवि-
 17 जयी दत्त्वैष¹¹ तत्क्षणादक्षीणा रचयाञ्चकार वशगाः स्व-
 18 स्मिन् परेषां श्रियः ॥¹² [6 *] संभुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनागणगुणाभो-
 19 -गप्रलोभाद्दिशामीशैरंश-शमर्पणेन¹³ घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभाव-
 20 स्फुटैः। दोरुष-क्षयितारिसङ्कर-रसो¹⁴ राजन्यधर्माश्रयः
 21 श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेन-भूपतिरतः। सौजन्यसीमाजनि ॥¹⁵ [7 *] स खलु ¹⁶वि-
 22 क्रमपुरसमावासित-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमेश्वरपरमवै-
 23 णव-परमभट्टारक-महाराज(ः)धिराज¹⁷-श्रीवल्लालसेनदेवपादानुध्या-
 24 तपरमेश्वर-परमनारसिंह¹⁸-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री-
 25 मल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेव(ः) कुशली। समुपगताशेष-राजराजन्यक-रा-
 26 ज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-महापुरोहित¹⁹- महाधर्माध्यक्ष-

¹ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

² Cf. Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates and read *vikasvaraiḥ*.

³ Read *r-diṣi*.

⁴ Read *r-dor-yaśah*.

⁵ Read *Sena*.

⁶ Here the engraver has made a mess. The correct reading is *kshetr-avgha-punyaṇāli-śāli-śāghya*.

⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read *teshām-abhūd*.

⁸ Read *r-yaśobhik*.

⁹ The *r*-stroke does not occur.

¹⁰ Metre : Śikharinī.

¹¹ Read *dattv*.

¹² The word *kshapita* occurs in Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates.

¹³ Read *samarppanena*.

¹⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The sign of interpunction before *saujanya* is meaningless.

¹⁶ The word *śrī* is prefixed to *Vikramapura* in Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates.

¹⁷ Of these titles only *mahārājādhirāja* is prefixed to the name of Vallālasena in Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates.

¹⁸ Instead of it the Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates have *Paramavaishṇava*.

¹⁹ Ānuliā and Tarpanadighi plates mention *purohita* instead of *mahāpurohita*.

Reverse.

- 27 महासाम्बिविश्विक-महासेनापति-महासुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्ग-बृहदुपरि-
 28 क-महाक्षपटलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाभोगिक महापीलुपति-महागण-
 29 स्थ-दौःसाधिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-नीबलहस्त्यश्व-गोमहिषाजाविकादि-व्यापृत-
 30 क-गौल्लिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपत्यादीन्ऽन्यांश्च¹ सकल-राज-
 31 पादोपजीविनोध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्तितान् चट्ट-भट्ट-जातीया-
 32 न् जनपदान् । क्षेत्रकरान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथाहं मानयति
 33 बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् । यथा श्री-वर्द्धमानभुक्त्यन्तःपा-
 34 ति-पश्चिमखाटिकायां² वेतडु-चतुरके³ पूर्वं जाङ्गवी [स]वन्ती³ अर्द्धसीमा । द-
 35 क्षिणे लेङ्घदेवमण्डपी-सीमा⁴ । पश्चिमे डालिम्बक्षेत्रसीमा । उत्त-
 36 -रे धर्म्मनगर-सीमा । इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नो तद्देशीय-संव्यवहा-
 37 -र-षट्पञ्चाशतहस्तपरिमितनलेन⁵ सप्तदशउ(शो)न्मानाधिक-षष्टि-भू-
 38 द्रोणात्मकः प्रतिद्रोणे⁶ पञ्चदश-पुराण-उ(णो)त्पत्ति-नियमे वत्सरेण नवश-
 39 तोत्पत्तिकः विडारशासनः सभाटविटपः सजलस्थलः सग[र्तो]षरः⁷
 40 सगुवाक-नारिकेलः सस्यदशापराधः परिहृतसर्व्वपोडो⁸ अ-
 41 चट्ट-भट्ट-प्रवेशोऽकिञ्चित्प्रयाह्यस्तृण-पूति-गोचरपर्यन्तः⁹ गोस्वा-
 42 मी(मि)देवशर्म्मणः प्रपौत्राय । चहलदेवशर्म्मणः¹⁰ पौत्राय । [शृ]निवासदेव-¹¹
 43 शर्म्मणः पुत्राय वात्स्यसगोत्राय वात्स्य-च्यावन-आप्पुवान-और्व्व-जामदग्न्य-प्रव-
 44 राय सामवेदकौथुम-शाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने उपाध्याय-श्रीव्यासदेवश-
 45 र्म्मणे पुण्यऽहनि विधिवदुदकपू [र्व्व]कं¹² भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मा-
 46 तापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये राज्याभिषेकसमये उ(त्)संगितत्वात्¹³ आचन्द्रा-
 47 कञ्चित्समकालं यावद्भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनोक्त्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः । तद्भवद्भिः
 स [र्व्व]रि¹⁴

¹ The *avagraha* is wrongly used. Read *anyāms-cha*.

^{2a} V. reads *Vēṭhādḍa*. Banerji reads *Vetādḍa* and *chaturashka*.

³ The first letter was either partly engraved or oxydised away : I restore it as *sra*. The word is omitted in V's text.

⁴ V. reads *Leghadeva*.

⁵ V. reads *dronamekaḥ pratidrona* etc. The conjunct *tm* is written like *me*.

⁶ V. reads *pluta*.

¹⁰ V. reads the name as Haladeva and treats the preceding *cha* as a particle. But here *cha* as a particle is unusual. I therefore read the name as *Chahala*.

¹¹ V. reads *śrī*.

¹² The *r*-stroke does not seem to occur.

² V. reads *vāṭikāyām*.

⁵ Read *-pañchāśat*. V. reads *suṇyavahāra*.

⁷ The *r*-stroke does not occur.

⁸ The letter *a* is superfluous.

¹³ The *r*-stroke does not occur.

¹⁴ The *r*-stroke does not occur.

- 48 वानुमनन्त(मन्त)व्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात्पालने धर्मगौरवात्-
पालनी-
- 49 यं भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमि¹प्रयच्छति
उभौ तौ पुण्य-
- 50 कर्माणो नियतं ²स्व[र्ग]गामिनी ॥³ [8 *] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां
स विष्टायां क्लमिर्भूत्वा पि-
- 51 दृढिः सह पच्यते ॥⁴[9 *] इति⁵ कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां शियमनुचिन्त्य⁶ मनुष्य-
जीवितञ्च सकलमिदमुदा-
- 52 हृतञ्च बुद्धा⁷ नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्त⁸यो⁹ विलोप्याः ॥⁹ [10*] श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेन-¹⁰
जीर्णोन्द्रः सान्निविग्रहि-
- 53 कं नारायणदत्तमकरोत् व्यासशासने दूतं¹¹ ॥¹² [11 *]सम्बत् २ ¹³

TRANSLATION.

[For verses 1-7 see above pp. 87-88]

(Lines 21-25 and 33) : Now, from the camp of victory situated at **Vikramapura**, the *Paramēśvara*, the devout worshipper of (Vishṇu in his) *Narasimha* (incarnation), the *Paramabhṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmanasena**, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramēśvara*, the devout worshipper of Vishṇu, the *Paramabhṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vallālasena**, being in good health, duly informs :

(Lines 33-47) : That (the village) *Viḍḍārasāsana*, in *Vetaḍḍa-chaturaka* in *Pāśchimakhāṭikā*, belonging to *Vardhamānābhukti*, having for its four boundaries as follows : To the east, the river Ganges, half boundary ; to the south, the temple (*mandapa*) of *Leṅghadeva*, another boundary ; to the west, the orchard of pomegranates, another boundary ; to the north, *Dharmanagara*, another boundary,—measuring 60 *bhū-droṇas* and 17 *unmānas*, according to the standard of *Nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region, and yielding annually 900 *purāṇas*, at the rate of 15 *purāṇas* to the *droṇa*, along with forest and branches, land and water, pits and barren land,

¹ Read *bhūmim*.

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ V. reads *kati*.

⁷ Read *buddhvā*.

⁹ Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

¹⁰ *Senī* seems to have been first engraved of which the *ī* stroke is deleted.

¹¹ Read *dūtam*.

² The *r*-stroke does not seem to occur.

⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Read *śriyam*.

⁸ The *r*-stroke does not occur.

¹³ V. reads the number as 3.

betelnut and cocoanut trees, toleration of Ten Sins, exempt from all forced labour, not to be entered by Chaṭṭas and Bhaṭṭas, exempt from all dues, as well as with grass, *pūti* plant and grazing land, is given away by Us by a copper-plate—being originally granted on the occasion of the Coronation—on this auspicious day, after duly touching water and in the name of the illustrious lord Nārāyaṇa, for the merit and fame of my parents as well as myself, for as long as the moon, sun and the earth endure, according to the *Bhūmichchhidraṇyāya*, to the *upādhyāya* Vyāsadevaśarmman, son of Śrīnivāsadevaśarmman, grandson of Chahaladevaśarmman, great-grandson of Gosvāmidevaśarmman, of the Vātsya *gotra*, Vātsya, Chyāvana, Āpnuvat, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras* and a follower of the *charaṇas* of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda.

[Here follow three of the customary verses for which see translation on p. 9: vv. 9, 11, 13].

(Verse 11). In the grant of Vyāsa, the illustrious king Lakshmaṇasena made the minister of Peace and War, Nārāyaṇadatta, his 'messenger' (*dūta*).

(Line 53). The year 2.

¹ 'Chaturaka' is part of a *bhukti*. It is mentioned in the newly discovered copperplate of Viśvarūpasena and the Sundarban copperplate.

X. TARPANADIGHI COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This copper-plate was found in course of re-excavating an old tank during the scarcity of 1873-74, to the north of **Tarpanadighi**, **Tarpandighi** or **Tapandighi**, which is the largest tank in the district of Dinajpur, about 6 miles to the south of Gangarampur Police station in the Balurghat sub-division. A preliminary account of the plate along with a tentative reading and translation was published by E.V. Westmacott in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLIV (1875), part 1, pp. 11 ff. and lithographs. Under circumstances, which are not recorded, the plate after its discovery came into the possession of Sir William Le Fleming Robinson, Bart., of Gloucestershire, England, whose nephew Sir Ernest Robinson brought it to Calcutta and sold it to the Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat. It was later on edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji, first in the *Journal of the Parishat*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff. and plates, and then in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 6 ff. and plates.

This is a **single plate** measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ "by $11\frac{1}{2}$ ". It bears a seal, containing representation of Sadāśiva, attached to the top. The writing is neatly and beautifully done and consists of 56 lines, of which twenty-six are engraved on the obverse and thirty on reverse. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The **characters** belong to a variety of the Northern alphabets which may be called the precursors of modern Bengali, as current in North-eastern India in the 12th century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory formula *oṃ oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya* the text upto about the end of line 22, and again from about the middle of line 50 to about the middle of line 56, is in verse. The rest is in prose. The verses, which are eight in number, are composed in a variety of metres, viz. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Vasantatilakā, Śikharinī, Anuṣṭubh, Puṣpitāgrā and Āryā.

In respect of **orthography** the following points should be noted : both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign ; a letter following a superscript *r* is occasionally doubled ; and the *avagraha* sign is used in six out of thirteen cases. The word *duḥkha* is written as *dushkha*, in l. 4 as in the Ānuliā and Govindapur copper-plates. The letter *v* is twice wrongly doubled, in *d=vvimukta*, in line 20, and *samvvatsareṇa*, in l. 37. The rules of euphony are not observed in several instances, e.g. *Bhārdvāja-Āṅgīrasa*, in l. 42. In

several instances the engraver has not been able to follow his draft. These have been pointed out in the foot-notes to the text.

The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramavaishṇava*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraku*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Lakshmaṇasena*, 'who meditated on the feet of' the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Vallālasena*. The record opens exactly as the Ānuliā and Govindapur copper-plates. The first seven stanzas are common to, and occur in the same order as in, those two plates, but the eighth verse is a new one, which does not occur elsewhere. The document was issued from 'the camp of victory' situated at *Vikramapura* (ll. 22-23). The customary list of officers and other persons interested in the grant is given in ll. 25-32. The village granted was *Belahisṭī* consisting of 120 *ādhāvāpas* and 5 *unmānas* of land according to the particular Nala standard prevalent in that locality, and yielding an annual profit of 150 *kaparddaka-purāṇas*. The village was situated in *Varendrī* within *Paundravarddhana bhukti* (ll. 33-38). The donee was *Īśvara-devaśarmman*, son of *Lakshmīdharadevaśarmman*, grandson of *Mārkaṇḍeyadevaśarmman* and great-grandson of *Hutāśanadevaśarmman*. He belonged to the *Bharadvāja gotra*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Āngirasa* and *Bārhaspatya pravaras* and was a follower of the *charaṇas* of the *Kauthuma śākhā* of the *Sāmaveda* (ll. 43-44). The grant was made as a fee (*dakṣiṇā*) to the donee on account of his service as *Āchārya* in the *Hemāśvarathamahādāna*¹ (ll. 43-46). The customary verses are found in ll. 50-55. This is followed by the name of the *Sāndhivigrahika* *Nārāyaṇadatta*, who acted as 'the messenger' (*dūta*) in respect of this grant (ll. 55-56). The date is the year 2, the 28th day of *Bhādra*. The document is concluded by the well-known abbreviated form of endorsement (l. 56).

There is nothing in the record that is of any special interest excepting perhaps the reference to a Buddhist *vihāra* (*Buddhavihārī*) in l. 33, which proves that Buddhism lingered on in North Bengal at least down to the 12th century A.D.

The village mentioned in the copper-plate has not yet been identified. In the word *Mollāṇakhādī*, one of the boundaries of the village granted, Mr. Banerji recognises 'the Arabic word *mullah*,'² which I think is rather fanciful. The *ī-kāra* ending of 'Varendrī', denoting North Bengal, is supported by *Purushottama's Bhāṣāvr̥tti*, II. 4. 7 (*Varendrī-Māgadham*).

¹ The *Hemāśvaratha-mahādāna* is one of 'the sixteen great gifts', which consists of giving away a golden chariot with seven or four golden horses. It is described in *Matsyapurāṇa*, Ch. 281, verses 1-16.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 8, n.2. Cf. S.K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I, p. 187.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ¹ नमो नारायणाय ॥ ²विद्युद्यत्र मणियुतिः फणिपतेर्व्यालेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं वा-
 2 रि स्वर्गतरङ्गिणी सितशिरोमाला वलाकावलिः । ध्यानाभ्याससमोरणोपनिहितः
 3 श्रेयोऽङ्कुरोद्भूतये भूयाद्दः स भवार्त्तितापभिदुरः शम्भोः कपर्दीम्बुदः ॥ [1*] ³आ-
 4 नन्दोऽम्बुनिधौ चकोरनिकरे दुष्खच्छिदात्यन्तिकी⁴ कल्लारे हतमोह्यता
 5 रतिपतावेकोऽहमेवेति धीः । यस्यामी अमृतात्मनः समुदयन्त्याशु प्रका-
 6 शाज्जगत्त्रिध्यानपरम्परापरिणतं⁵ ज्योतिस्तदास्ताम्बुदे ॥ [2*] ⁶सेवावन-
 7 म्ननृपकोटिकिरीटरोचिरम्बु (म्बू)लसत्पदनखद्युतिवल(ल)रोभिः । तेजो-
 8 विषज्वरमुषो द्विषतामभूवन् भूमीभुजः स्फुटमथौषधिनाथवं-
 9 शे ॥ [3*] ⁷आक्रौमारविकस्वरैर्हिंशि दिशि प्रस्यन्दिभिर्हीर्यंशः प्रालेयैररिरा-
 10 जवक्लानलिनस्नानीः समुन्मीलयन् [1*] हेमन्तः ⁸स्फुटमेय(व) सेनजननचेत्तौ-
 11 घपुण्यावलोशालिस्नाध्यविपाकपौवरगुणस्तेषामभूदंशजः[1*] [4*] ⁹यदीयैर-
 12 व्यापि प्रचितभुजतेजःसहचरैर्यशोभिः शोभन्ते परिधिपरि-
 13 णद्वा इव दिशः । ततः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुरम्भोधिलहरीपरीतोर्वी-
 14 भर्ताजनि विजयसेनः स विजयी ॥ [5*] ¹⁰प्रत्यूहः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदा-
 15 यनैकाध्वगः सङ्ग्रामः श्रितजङ्गमाकृतिरभूदलालसेनस्ततः । यश्चेतोम-
 16 यमेव शौर्यविजयी दत्वौषधं¹¹ तत्क्षणादक्षीणा रचयाञ्चकार वशगाः
 17 स्वस्मिन् परेषां श्रियः ॥ [6*] ¹²संभुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनागणगुणाभोगप्रलोभाद्दिशा-
 18 मौशैरंशसमर्पणेन घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभावस्फुटैः । दोरुषक्षपि-
 19 तारिसङ्गररसो राजन्यधर्माश्रयः श्रीमल(ल)क्ष्मणसेन-भूपतिरतः सौ-
 20 जन्यसौमाजनि ॥ [7*] ¹³शश्वहन्वभयाव्नि (हि) मुक्तविषयास्तन्मात्रनिष्ठोक्ततस्मान्ता या-
 21 न्तु कथन्न नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोगाल्लभम् । यैरात्मप्रतिविम्बितेपि निपतत्पत्नेपि
 22 चञ्चत्तृणेष्वैतेन यतस्ततोपि सपरो देवः परं वोक्षतेः¹⁴ ॥ [8*] स खलु श्रीविक्र-
 23 मपुरसमावासि(सि)त-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् महाराजाधिराज-श्रीवल्लालसेन-
 24 देवपादानुध्यात परमेश्वरपरमवैष्णवपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Banerji reads: jagatyantre dhyāna-⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre: Śikhariṇi.⁶ Read dattu-.⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ The correct form should be vikshyate. The visarga is meaningless.⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁰ Read dukkha.¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹² Banerji does not supply va for ya.¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 25 श्रीमल(ल)क्ष्मणसेनदेवः कुशली । समुपगताशेषराजराजन्यकराज्ञी-
 26 राणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यपुरोहितमहाधर्माध्यक्षमहासान्निविग्रहि-
 27 कमहासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृत-¹ आन्तरङ्गवृहदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिक-

Reverse.

- 28 महाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापौलुपतिमहागणस्थदौसाधिकचौरो-
 29 हरणिकनौवलहस्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्यापृतकगौल्लिकदण्डपाशि-
 30 कदण्डनायकविषयपत्वा(त्या)दौन् नन्यांश्च² सकलराजपादोपजीविनोध्यक्षप्र-
 31 चारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्तितान(न्) चट्टमट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्रा-
 32 ह्मणान(न्) ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हं(हं) मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च [।*] मतम-
 33 स्तु भवतां³ यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपातिवरेद्यान्⁴ पूर्वं बुद्धविहारीदेव-
 34 तानिकरदेया भ्रमभूम्याढावापपूर्व्वालिः⁵ सीमा । दक्षिणे निचडहार-पु
 35 ष्करिणो सीमा । पश्चिमे नन्दिहरिपाकुण्डी सीमा [।*] उत्तरे⁶ मोल्लाणखाड़ी
 सीमा [।*] इ-
 36 थं(त्यं) चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नस्तत्रत्यदेशव्यवहारनलेन⁶ देवगोपथाद्यसारभूवहिः
 37 पञ्चोन्मानाधिकविंशत्युत्तराढावापशतैकाल्मकः संव(व)त्सरेण कपर्देकपु-
 38 राणसार्द्धशतैकोत्पत्तिको वेलहिष्टौ-ग्रामीयभूभागः सभाटवितपः⁷
 39 सजलस्थलः सगर्तोषरः सगुवाकनारिकेलः सद्यदशापराधः परि-
 40 र्हं (ह) तसर्व्वपौडोऽचट्टमट्टप्रवेशोऽकिञ्चित्प्रग्राह्यस्तृणपूतिगोचर-
 41 पर्यन्तः हुताशनदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय मार्कण्डेयदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय ल-
 42 क्ष्मीधरदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय भरद्वाजसगोत्राय भारद्वाज-आङ्गिरस⁸-
 43 बार्हस्पत्यप्रवराय सामवेदकौथुमशाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने हेमाश्वर-
 44 थमहादानाचार्य-श्रीईश्वरदेवशर्मणे पुण्येऽहनि विधिवदुदकपू-
 45 र्व्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पु-
 46 ण्ययशोभिष्टव्ये दत्तहेमाश्वद(श्वर)थमहादाने दक्षिणाते (त्वे)नोत्सृज्य आ-
 47 चन्द्रार्कचितिसमकालं यावत् भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्र-
 48 दत्तोऽस्माभिः ॥ तद्ववभिः(द्विः) सर्व्वैरेवानुमत्त(न्त)व्यम् । भाविभिरपि नृपति-

¹ Read *krit-āntaraṅga*—.

² Read *dīn anyāms-cha*.

³ Omit *visarga*.

⁴ Read *Varendryām*. There is a *kākapada* sign, resembling a cross, after the last letter *n*, but the scribe seems to have forgotten to insert the correction.

⁵ Banerji reads *Buddhavihārīdevatānikaradeyāmmānabhūmyūdhāvāpapūrvvālī* as one compound word. The expression *mmānabhūmi* is probably intended for *mālabhūmi* which may be here substituted.

⁶ Banerji reads *nalina*—.

⁷ Banerji reads *sāṭa* for *jhāṭa*. Cf. remarks above p. 82.

⁸ Read *Bhāradvāj-Āṅgīrasa*.

- 49 भिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्म्मगौरवात्पालनीयम् । भ-
 50 वन्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुश(शं)सिनः श्लोकाः । ¹बहुभिर्वसुधा² दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः ।
 51 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ³॥ [9 *] ⁴भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्य
 भूमिं प्रय-
 52 च्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणो नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [10 *] ⁵स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा⁶
 यो हरे-
 53 त वसुन्धराम् [1 *] स विष्ठाया(यां) क्षमिभूत्वा पिष्टभिस्सह पच्यते ॥ [11 *]
⁷इति कमलदला-
 54 स्तुविं(वि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा⁸ न
 55 हि पुरुषैः ⁹ परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [12 *] ¹⁰श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनो नारायण-
 दत्त-साधिविशिष्टः
 56 इह ईश्वरशासनदाने दूतं व्यधत्त नरनाथः ॥ [13 *] सं २ भाद्रदिने २८¹¹श्री नि
 महासा नि ॥

TRANSLATION.

(For vv. 1-7 and lines 25-32 see above pp. 88-89 and 90.)

(Verse 8).¹² Why should not his enemies perish through his magical power—when out of fear for lifelong imprisonment they have surrendered their landed property, being destined to meet their end in his hands, and (are made to) feel the persence of the king, who has attained the highest perfection, even in their own reflection, even on a dropping leaf and a rustling grass-blade, (in fact) uniformly everywhere ?¹³

or

Why should not his passions (*ripavah*), being completely withdrawn from worldly objects (*vimukta-vishayāḥ*), for fear of the bondage (*bandha*, which human flesh

¹ Metre : Anushtubh.

² The letter *dhā* was omitted at first through inadvertence and added later on above the line.

³ Read *phalam*.

⁴ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁴ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁶ Read *dattāṃ vā*.

⁷ Metre : Mālinī.

⁸ Read *buddhvā*.

⁹ This sign is unnecessary.

¹⁰ Metre : Aryā.

¹¹ Mr. Banerji reads "Sam 3 Bhādradine 2" on which I have to make the following observations : (1) Both the numeral signs are of the same appearance (३). Therefore, they cannot represent different values. (2) According to Bendall (*Catalogue of Buddhist Sans. MSS. in the Cambridge University*, table of figure numerals) this sign denotes '2' in MSS. of about the beginning of the 13th century. (3) It denotes the same value also in the copperplates of the sons of Lakshmanasena. (4) There is a third numeral sign, occurring immediately after the second one, which has been taken as a sign of interpunction by Mr. Banerji, But I read it as '8' (Cf. Bendall, *op. cit.*).

¹² This is a rather difficult stanza with a pun on almost every word. Two alternative translations are therefore given.

¹³ The poet is probably referring to hypnotic skill.

is heir to), and being limited by the (five) *tanmātras*, attain repose (*laya*), on account of his perfect Yoga practices (*prayoga*) ? For it is through these (passions) that, in spite of the reflection (of the Mind) on Self, the God, who has the Universal Soul within Himself, is perceived everywhere nondually (*advaitena*), even on the dropping leaf and rustling grass-blade.

(Lines 22-25 and 32). Now, from the illustrious 'camp of victory' situated in **Vikramapura**, the *Parameśvara*, *Parama-Vaishṇava*, *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, who meditated on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vallālasena**, being in good health, commands :

(Lines 33-48) : May it be approved by you : That the land belonging to the village of **Velahisṭī** in **Varendrī** within the **Paundravarddhana-bhukti**, having for its four boundaries (*as follows*) : To the east, the eastern boundary wall of (one) *ādhāvāpa* of rent-free plain land (?) belonging to the deity of the Buddhist monastery ;¹ to the south, the Nichaḍahāra tank (or 'the tank belonging to Nichaḍahāra') ; to the west, the Nandiharipākunḍī (or 'the tank belonging to Nandiharipā') ; to the north, Mollāna-khāḍī (or 'the ditch belonging to Mollāna'), measuring 120 *ādhāvāpas* and 5 *unmānas*, excluding such useless land as the path leading to the deity (temple) and cattle-track, and yielding an annual profit of 150 *kaparddaka-purāṇas*, along with forest and branches, land and water, pits and barren lands, betelnut and cocoanut trees, toleration of Ten sins, exempt from all forced labour, not to be entered by Chātṭas and Bhaṭṭas, exempt from all dues, together with grass, *pūti* plant and grazing land, is made over by Us by a copper-plate, as fee for the ceremony of the Great Gift in which a golden horse and chariot were given away, on this auspicious day, after duly touching water and in the name of the illustrious god Nārāyaṇa, for the merit and fame of my parents as well as myself, for as long as the moon, sun and the earth endure, according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra*, to Īśvaradevaśarmman, who officiated as the *Āchārya* in the 'Great Gift of golden horse and chariot,' son of Lakshmīdharadevaśarmman, grandson of Mārkaṇḍeyadevaśarmman and great-grandson of Hutāśanadevaśarmman, belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, Bhāradvāja, Āngirasa and Bārhaspayta *pravaras* and a follower of the *charaṇas* of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda.

(Lines 48-50) : So you should all give your assent to it. And it should be

¹ The text reads *Buddhavihārīdevatānikaradeyammāna-bhūmyādhāvāpa-pūrvvālīh*. As it stands it gives no sense, for what is meant by *deyammāna-bhūmy*—? I suggest that the reading intended was probably *deya-mālabhūmy*—etc. The word *mālabhūmi* means 'a table land' ; *māla-kshetra* is used in that sense in Vallabhadeva's commentary on the *Meghadūta*. For the word *māla* used in inscriptions, see N. Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 348.

protected by future kings also, considering that its protection entails great religious merit and taking away, fear of falling into Hell. There are also verses in this matter enjoining *Dharma*.

(Here follow four of the customary verses for which see translation on pp. 79-80 : vv. 15, 16, 19 and 20).

(Verse 13) : The *sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta was made the 'messenger' (*dūta*), in the land grant to Īśvara by the illustrious king **Lakshmaṇasena**.

(Line 56) : **The year 2, the 28th day of Bhādra.** (Endorsed by) the illustrious (king). (Endorsed by) the Mahāsā(ṇdhivigrahika).

XI. MĀDHĀINAGAR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This copper-plate was discovered by a cultivator named Raghunath Bunia in the village of Mādhāinagar, P.S. Raigunj, in the Sirajgunj sub-division of the Pabna District, sometime about the year 1874. The circumstances under which it was discovered and ultimately brought to the notice of scholars were described by Babu Prasanna Nārāyan Chaudhuri, Government Pleader of Pabna, in 1899, in a Bengali Journal called *Aitihāsika Chitra*, Vol. I, part 1, pp. 92-94. He also published a tentative reading of the inscription in the same Journal, Vol. I, part III, pp. 431-36. Sometime after the publication of this article the plate appears to have been lent to Babu Ganga Mohan Laskar, and after his death it found its way to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where it is at present deposited. The inscription was edited by Mr. R.D. Banerji in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., Vol. V (1909), pp. 467 and ff, and Plates XXIII, XXIV. I now re-edit it from the original and a set of inked estampages. I am obliged to Mr. Johann van Manen, Secretary of the Society, for his having placed the copper-plate at my disposal for study.

This is a **single plate**, measuring 12" by 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". It is engraved on both sides and is in a extremely bad state of preservation. It bears a seal containing a representation of Sadāśiva, attached to the top, which, however, is on the whole well-preserved. The writing consists of 58 lines of which twenty-nine are incised on the obverse and twenty-nine on the reverse. The size of letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". In many places letters have disappeared through corrosion, especially on the reverse side of the plate, and this has rendered complete restoration of the text impossible. The **characters** belong to a variety of the Northern class of alphabets, which may be called the precursors of modern Bengali, and were current in Bengal in the 12th century A.D. No special remarks are necessary on the individual forms of letters.—The **language** is Sanskrit. Its orthography is the same as in other records of the Sena dynasty. With the exception of the introductory *om om namo Nārāyaṇāya* the text upto the end of line 24, and again from the middle of line 53 to the beginning of line 56, is in verse. The rest is in prose. As the entire text cannot be made out it is not possible to ascertain where exactly the poetry portions end and the prose portions begin. The verses, which are at least thirteen in number, donot occur in any other copper-plate of the Sena dynasty. They are composed in a variety of metres viz.

Sārdūlavikrīḍita, Pushpitāgrā, Sragdharā, Mālinī, Vasantatilaka, Upendravajrā, and Anuṣṭubh. Resemblances between a few verses of this plate with a few of the Deopārā inscription have been noted already by scholars.¹ Thus verses 4 and 6 of this inscription are parallel respectively to verses 5 and 16 of the Deopārā inscription. It was therefore suggested that both the records are the composition of the same poet, namely, Umāpatidhara.² I should here further note, that the expression *mārāṅkamalla* (ll. 8-9) of the present copper-plate corresponds to *mārāṅkavīra* of the Deopārā inscription (l. 10) and that in both the records these expressions have been used with reference to Hemantasena. Again verse 2 of this record almost exactly corresponds to a verse ascribed to Umāpatidhara in the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* (Bib. Ind. ed., p. 92, v. 4) It is therefore not unlikely that the poet lived not only in the court of Vijayasena, but also in that of his son and grandson. The tradition recorded by Merutuṅga that Umāpati was the minister of Lakshmaṇasena may not after all be without foundation. (See above, p. 45).

The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramanārasimha*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vallālasena**, 'who meditated on the feet' of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, **Lakshmaṇasena** (ll. 26-33), whose predecessor **Vijayasena** was also most probably mentioned in the previous line (l. 25), but there is nothing left of it excepting one of his titles, *Mahārājādhirāja*. The record opens with obeisance to god Nārāyaṇa. Verses 1 and 2 are addressed to Śiva (Pañchānana) and to the Moon god respectively. Next we are told that in the latter's lineage were born kings (*navendrāḥ*, v. 3) and that in the family of Vīrasena who was one of them, flourished **Sāmantasena**, 'the headgarland of the Karṇāṭa-kshatriyas' (v. 4). From him was born **Hemantasena** (v. 5) whose son was **Vijayasena** (v. 6). From the latter was born **Vallālasena** who married **Rāmadevī**, daughter of a **Chālukya** king (vv. 8-9). Her son was the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena** (v. 10) who seems to be described in the copper-plate as having suddenly seized the kingdom of **Gauḍa**, raided **Kaliṅga** and defeated the king of **Kāśī** in battle (v. 11) From the end of l. 20 down to l. 25 the text is so much damaged that nothing can be made out. Lines 26-32 contained originally a lengthy description of the reigning sovereign Lakshmaṇasena, who is decorated with a number of titles, such as *Vīra-chakravartī*, *Sārvaabhauma*, *Somavamaṇsapradīpa*, and so on and described as, 'the great Brahma-kshatriya,' 'one who subdued **Kāmarūpa** by his prowess', 'who overthrew **Kaliṅga**' (*vikalīkṛita-Kaliṅga*), and as **Gauḍeśvara** or 'lord of **Gauḍa**.'

¹ J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. V (1909), p. 469.

² Prasanna Nārāyan Chaudhuri, *Ātīkāsika Chitra*, Vol. I, part 3, p. 424.

The place from which the document was issued (l. 25) has been read by Mr. Banerji as 'Dhāryya-grāma' about the correctness of which one may be somewhat doubtful. It is addressed by the king to his various officials and also other persons whose list is given in ll. 34-39. The grant consisted of a village called **Dāpaṇiyā-pāṭaka** comprising 100 *bhūkkhādīs* and 91 *khādīkās* of land and yielding an annual income of more than 168 (?) *kaparddaka-purāṇas*. The boundaries of the village are described in lines 40-42 (for which see translation). It was situated near **Kāntāpura**, in **Varendrī**, within the **Paṇḍravarddhanabhukti** (ll. 39-44). The donee was the *Sāntyāgārika* Govindadevaśarmman, son of Kumāradevaśarmman, grandson of Rāmadevaśarmman and great-grandson of Dāmodaradevaśarmman, belonging to the Kauśika *gotra* and a student of the Paippalāda *śākhā* of the Atharvvaveda (ll. 45-48). The mention of *mūlābhisheka* or 'original coronation' in line 49 probably indicates that the grant was made in connection with it (cf. Govindapur copper-plate). But the lacunae, in ll. 49-50, which cannot be filled up, make it impossible for us to ascertain the full significance of the expression. Similarly in l. 50 the isolated expression, *Aindrī mahāśānti*, cannot be explained. In the last seven lines (ll. 51-58) we can read only a few scraps of the imprecatory and benedictory verses and some of the stereotyped expressions in connection with a grant.

The record is of great historical importance. The significance of Sāmantasena being called *Karṇṇātakshatriya* (l. 7) and Lakshmaṇasena, *Brahma-kshatriya* (l. 31) has already been adverted to in connection with the origin of the Senas (see above p. 44). Their relationship with the Chālukyas of the Deccan is attested by verse 9, which says that Vallālasena married Rāmadevī, the daughter of a Chālukya king. Thus even after their immigration to Bengal, the Senas received a fresh infiltration of the Deccan blood. They originally came, as is well known, from Karṇṇāṭa which according to some scholars would be identical with the territory ruled over by the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, because, Vikramāditya VI of that dynasty bore the title of Karṇṇātendu.¹ Whether Vallālasena married in this Chālukya house is of course not certain.

The description of the achievements of Lakshmaṇasena is worth noticing. First of all his defeat of the lord of Gauḍa and the adoption of the title of Gauḍeśvara. We know from the Deopārā inscription that his grand-father Vijayasena caused 'Gaudendra' to make a hasty retreat. But it seems that he was not able to annex the Gauḍa kingdom and retain

¹ *Gauḍarājamālā*, Introduction, p. xi.

its possession for any length of time. Because in this inscription it is stated that Lakshmanasena, when a *kumāra*, i.e., during the reign of his father, deprived the Gauda king of his fortune. It is possible that this Gauda king was one of the last of the Pālas who for sometime after the extinction of their Imperial power retained possession of a portion of Bengal. In the Edilpur grant of Keśavasena (ll. 39-43), it may be noted, the title Gaudeśvara is attributed to Vijayasena and his successors without any reservation. As regards Lakshmanasena's encounter with a king of Kalinga it is difficult to say who this person was. His conquest of Kāmarūpa (Assam) receives, however, some light from a passage in the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva, dated 1184-85 A.D.,¹ which says that Rāyārideva, grand-father of Vallabhadeva, met the elephants of Vaṅga (*Vaṅga-karīndra*) in battle. According to some scholars,² this contains an echo of the invasion of Assam by Lakshmanasena. But it might, as well and more probably, refer to the invasion of Vijayasena, which is mentioned in his Deopārā inscription. The 'king of Kāśī' defeated by Lakshmanasena is, of course, a member of the Gāhaḍavāla family, and it is possible that Jayachandra is here intended. In the copper-plates of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena this incident has been probably alluded to, in the verse *velāyām dakṣiṇābdher* = etc.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ^३ ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ ^४यस्याऽङ्गे शरदम्बुदोरसि तडिल्लेखेव गौरी प्रिया देहाङ्गेन
हरिं समाश्रि-
- 2 तमभूद्यस्यातिचित्रं वपुः । दौमार्क्युतिलोचनत्रयरुचा घोरं दधानो मुखं देवत्रास-
निरस्तदानव-
- 3 गजः पुष्पातु पञ्चाननः ॥ [1 *] ^५स्वर्गङ्गाजलपुण्डरीकममृतप्रादारधारागृहं
शृङ्गारद्रुमपुष्पमौश्वरशि-
- 4 खालङ्कारमुक्तामणिः । क्षीराशोनिधिजीवित(') कुमुदिनीवन्देकवैहासको जीयान्म-
न्मथराजपौष्टि-
- 5 कमहाशान्तिद्विजस्रन्द्रमाः ॥ [2 *] ^६त्रिभुवनजयसम्भृतावल्लभैः क्रतुभिरवाधित'सत्तिनो-
ऽमराणाम् । अजनिषत

^१ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 184.^३ Expressed by a symbol.^५ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^६ Metre : Pushpitāgrā.^२ *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 67.^४ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^७ Banerji reads *avādhita-sattrino*.

- 6 तदन्वये धरित्रीवल्लयविशृङ्खलकीर्त्तयो नरेन्द्राः ॥ [3 *] ¹ पीराणीभिः कथाभिः प्रथित-
गुणगणे वीरसेनस्य
- 7 वंशे कर्षाटक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम सामन्तसेनः । कृत्वा निर्व्वीरमुर्व्वीतल-
मधिकतरान्तृप्यता ना-
- 8 कनद्या निस्सिक्तो येन युध्यद्रिपुरुधिरकणाकीर्षधारः [क]पाणः ॥ [4 *] ² वीराणामधि-
देवतं रिपुचमूमा-
रा-
- 9 इमल्लव्रतस्तस्माद्विस्मयनीयशौर्यमहिमा हेमन्तसेनोऽभवत् । क्षीरोदाधरवाससो वसु-
मतीदेव्या
- 10 यदीयं यशा रत्नस्येव सुमेरुमौलिमिलितं क्षौमश्रियं पुथति ॥ [5 *] ³ अजनि
विजयसेनस्तेजसां राशिर-
- 11 स्मात् समरविस्मराणां भूभृतामेकशेषः । इह जगति विषेहे येन वंशस्य पूर्व्वः पुरुष
इति सुधांशौ
- 12 केवलं राजशब्दः ॥ [6 *] ⁴ भूचक्रं कियदेतदावृतमभूद्यहामनस्याङ्घ्रिणा नागानां
कियदाभ्युदयं सुर⁵
- 13 सालङ्घ्नि⁶ गूढाङ्घ्रयः । ⁷ एकाहोद्यदनूरञ्चति किय[न्मा]न्तदप्यम्बरं यस्येतीव
यशो क्रिया त्रिभुव-
- 14 नं व्याप्यापि नो दृष्यति ॥ [7 *] ⁸ तस्मादशेषभुवनोत्सवकारणेन्दुर्व्वल्लालसेन-जगती-
पतिरुज्जगाम । यः
- 15 केवलं न खलु सर्व्वनरेश्वराणामेकः समग्रविवुधामपि चक्रवर्त्ती ॥ [8 *] ¹⁰ धराधरान्तः
पुरमौलिरत्नचा-
- 16 लुक्यभूपालकुलेन्दुलेखा । तस्या प्रियाभूद्बहुमानभूमिर्लक्ष्मीपृथिव्योरपि
रामदेवौ ॥ [9 *] — — ¹¹
- 17 वसुदेवदेवकसुतादेहान्तराभ्यामिव श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनमूर्त्तिरजनि क्षमापालनारा-
यणः । — — ¹²

¹ Metre : Sragdharā.

² Metre : Mālinī.

³ Banerji reads *kīyad-āsyadarpaṃ*.

⁴ Banerji reads *ekāhā* —. The sign for *o* is not clear, but the reading given above seems to be the one intended.

⁵ Banerji reads *tribhuvana-vyāpy* —

⁶ Banerji reads *asmād*. Metre : Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Metre : Upendravajrā.

⁸ The first three *aksharas* (with long vowels) of a stanza in *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre are missing here.

⁹ Two letters with long vowels are missing here.

¹⁰ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹¹ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹² Banerji reads *lapsanti*.

- 18 यन्मयजन्मनिःसहमिलहिम्बानुवचच्चलात् कष्टेनाधि...धिक...कमि...॥[10 *] ¹(आ)
 19 सीद्गौडेश्वर-श्रीहठहरणकला² यस्य कौमारकेलिः कलिङ्गेनाङ्गनाभि.....
 20 वे यस्य पूर्वः । येनासौ काशिराजः समरभुवि जितो यस्य.....धाराभीर...पा...
 21 थ्याति...
 22 श्वरणजरजसा निर्ममे कार्मणानि ॥[11 *] ³आकौमारं समरकृति.....
 22 मिव दिशामीशितास्ते विमुक्ताः । ह...वपुर्विकलथ तस्य ति...ष्टौ प्रविष्टाः...
 23 त्र हि क्षत्रियाणां कृपाणः ॥ [12 *] ⁴यत्नारामद्रुमदलरुचा शैवाल...
 24 पुरो सञ्चिता भूः । प्राणान् सुञ्चन्थवनिपतयो.....[*] [13 *]
 25 ...निर्गते खलु धार्यग्राम-परिसरसमावासितश्रीमहाराजधिराज...
 26 परमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराज-श्रीवल्लालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात-श्री...
 27
 28
 29

Reverse.

- 30 विक्रमस्य वीरचक्रवर्त्तिसार्वभौम.....सोमवंशप्रदीपराजप्रतापनारायण-परम -
 31 दीक्षित-परमब्रह्मक्षत्रिय-सुमेरु....क्रीडावधूतमशेषकेलिविकलीकृतक-
 32 लिङ्ग⁵-विभ्रमवशीकृत-कामरू(पा)वनीमण्डलैकचक्रवर्त्ति...गौडेश्वर-परमे-
 33 श्वरपरमनारसिंहपरमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराज-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादा
 विजयिनः समु-
 34 पगताशेषराजराजन्यकराञ्चौराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितमहाधर्माध्यक्षमहा-
 सान्धि-
 35 विग्रहिकमहासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्गहृदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिकमहाप्रतौहार-
 36 महाभोगिकमहापीलुपतिमहागणस्थ⁶-दौःसाधिकचौरोद्धरणिकनौवलहस्यश्व गोमहिषाजा-
 37 विकादिव्याघृतकगौल्लिकदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविषयपत्यादीनन्यांश्च सकलराज-
 पादोपजी-
 38 विनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेचकरान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्रा-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Banerji reads *syād*—and *havana* (?) *karma*. D.C. Bhattacharya has already suggested the corrections *āsād* and *harāṇa* in *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 148, n. 16.³ Metre : Mandākrāntā.⁵ Banerji reads *kalanka*.⁴ Metre : Mandākrāntā.⁶ Banerji reads *ganaska*.

- 39 ह्यणोत्तरान् यथाहं मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति समादिशन्ति च मतमस्तु भवताम् । यथा
श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धन-भ-
- 40 त्वन्तःपाति-वरेन्द्रां कान्तापुरा-वृत्तौ रावणसरसि द्विस्थाने (?)¹ पूर्व²
चङ्गस्पसापाटक-पश्चिमभूः³ सीमा
- 41 दक्षिणे गयनगर-उत्तर(गरोत्तर)भूःसीमा पश्चिमे गुण्डीस्थिरापाटक-पूर्वभूः सीमा
उत्तरे गुण्डीदापणिया-द-
- 42 त्रिणभूःसीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नगोयवगोचराद्यस्य च देवब्राह्मणपाल्य भवद्भिः एक-
43 नवतिग्वाङ्गिकाधिकभूखाडीशतैकात्मक(को) संवत्सरेण कपर्दकाष्टषष्टिपुराणाधिकशत-
मूल्यात्पत्तिको⁴ दापणिया-
- 44 पाटकः । सभाटविटपः⁴ सजलस्थलः सगर्तोषरः सगुवाकनारिकेलः सच्चद-
45 (शापराधः परि)हृतसर्वपीडोऽचट्टभट्टप्रवेशः(अ)किञ्चित्प्रयाह्यस्तृणपूतिगोचर-
पर्यन्तः दा-
- 46 (मोदर) देवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय श्रीरामदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय कुमारदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय
कौशिक-
- 47 सगोत्राय.....प्रवराय अथर्ववेदपैप्पलादशाखाध्यायिने शान्त्यागारिक⁵-
48 श्रीगोविन्ददेवशर्मणे विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य
49 मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये सप्तविंशत्यावणदिवसे.....पूर्वकमूलाभिषेकः
50 ...ऐन्द्री⁶ महाशान्तितगति.....णिकादि...उत्सृज्याचन्द्रार्कचिति⁷-
51 समकालं या(वत् भूमिच्छिद्र)न्यायेन प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्त-
52 व्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनोयं ।
भवन्ति
- 53 चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः(।) ⁸भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति उभौ तौ
पुण्यकर्मा-

¹ This is Banerji's reading.

² Regarding the reading of the names of localities I have followed Banerji, although I have doubts about some of them.

³ Banerji reads *mālyakādihiko*.

⁴ Banerji reads *śaṣṭa*—

⁵ Banerji reads *śāntyaśāvika*. The name of the donee Govindadevaśarman is preceded by a word evidently as a sort of epithet (l. 47). Banerji reads it as *Śāntyaśāvika* which, however, gives no sense. In the Sundarban copper-plate (see Appendix) the same word occurs in three places before personal names e.g. *Śāntyaśāvika* Śrīkrishṇadhara, the donee of that particular grant. I have no doubt that this is a wrong reading (through a confusion of *g* and *ś*) of the word *Śāntyāgārika*, which actually occurs in the present copper-plate. This would correspond to *Śāntyāgārādhiṣṭita*, used in respect of a donee in the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarmman (l. 45).

⁶ Banerji reads *Aindrya*—

⁷ Banerji reads *uchchhriṣṭya*.

⁸ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

- 54 (णो नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [14*] ¹बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य
यस्य यदा भूमि-
- 55 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं² ॥ [15*] (³आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो बलायन्ति पितामहाः) भूमि-
दोऽस्मत्कुले जातस्त्र न-
- 56 स्नाता भविष्यति (॥) [16*]
- 57
- 58

TRANSLATION.

Om. Om. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(Verse 1). He who bears in his lap (his) beloved Gaurī, as a streak of lightning on the breast of an autumn cloud, who sustained Hari in a half of his most wonderful body, whose countenance is fearful on account of his three eyes, dazzling like the bright rays of the sun, and who is the terror of the gods and the subduer of elephantlike demons—May that five-faced one (i.e. Śiva) grant prosperity.

(Verse 2). Victorious be the Moongod, the priest of king Bacchus in the great propitiatory ceremony conducive to his prosperity—the god who is the lotus in the waters of the Heavenly River, the showerbath of ambrosia, the flower of the tree of love, the precious pearl decorating Śiva's head, born of the Ocean of Milk and the unique being who can make the beds of lotuses smile.

(Verse 3). In his lineage were born princes whose fame was not confined within the boundaries of this earth. They made preparations for sacrifices befitting a conquest of the three worlds and thereby checked the priests serving in the Sessional Soma sacrifices of the gods.

(Verse 4). In the family of **Virasena**, which has become illustrious through the legends recorded in the Purāṇas, was born **Sāmantasena**, the head-garland of the clan of the Karṇāṭa-Kshatriyas. Being exceedingly satisfied on his rendering the earth destitute of heroes, he washed in the Heavenly river (i.e. the Ganges) his sabre, besmeared with streaks of blood of belligerent foes.

(Verse 5). From him was born **Hemantasena**, who was to the heroes a god and had taken a vow to annihilate the forces of his enemies. He was endowed with wonderful prowess and magnanimity, and his fame, touching the crest of Mount Sumeru, heightened the beauty of the garment of the Earth goddess, (beauty that was) equal to that of the (Kaustubha) jewel, which emanated from the depth of the Milk-ocean.

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

² Read *phalam*.

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

(Verse 6). From this person was born **Vijayasena**, a store of valour and the chief among princes, engaged in warlike expeditions. In this world he tolerated only the moon to assume the epithet of 'king', as the latter happened to be his ancestor.

(Verse 7). Of no glory it is that only the earth was covered by the footstep of the Dwarf.¹ Not very far do the serpents penetrate into the Nāga region (?), moving on their breast. And very little distance again does the kneeless being (i.e. Aruṇa) cover in a day, and that also not beyond the Heavenly sphere—quite ashamed at this as it were his Fame did not rest satisfied even after encompassing the three worlds.

(Verse 8). From that (king) was born the lord of the earth **Vallālasena**, the moon that brought delight to the Universe. He was the unique suzerain not only over all the kings but over all the scholars as well.

(Verse 9). His wife was **Rāmadevī**, the crest-jewel of the royal harem, the moonlight of the house of **Chālukya** kings and an object of high esteem to the two goddesses, Fortune and Earth.

(Verse 10). The illustrious king **Lakshmaṇasena** was born.....as (**Kṛishṇa**) from Vasudeva and Devakī.....

(Verse 11). His sport, as a Crown-prince, was displayed in the playful and sudden seizure of the goddess of Fortune of the king of **Gauḍa** whose.....with the females of **Kaliṅga**.....He defeated in battle-field the king of **Kāśī**.....

(Verses 12 and 13 cannot be restored and do not therefore admit of translation).

(Lines 25-33).....The lord of **Gauḍa**, the *Parameśvara*, the great worshipper of Vishṇu in his Man-Lion (incarnation), the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, the victorious, the suzerain of all heroes, the lord of the whole earth, the lamp of the lineage of Moon.....the great one who has undergone his initiation (ceremony), the great Brahmakshatriya, the one who has crippled **Kaliṅga**, and subdued **Kāmarūpa** by strength, the unique paramount sovereign in this earth, residing near **Dhāryyagrāma** and meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vallālasena**.....

(Lines 33-39) : duly honours, informs and orders those that have assembled viz all the *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, *Rājñīs*, *Rāṇakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Rājāmātyas*, *Mahāpurohita*,² *Mahādharṇmādhyaaksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅgabṛihaduparika*, *Mahākshapatalika*, *Mahāpra-*

¹ I.E. the Vāmana incarnation of Vishṇu.

² Mentioned also in the Govindapur plate.

tihāra, *Mahābhogika*, *Mahāpīlupati*, *Mahāgaṇastha*, *Dauḥsādhikas*, *Chauroddhara-
nikas*, officers engaged over the navy, army, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes,
goats, sheep etc., the *Gaulmikas*, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, *Vishayapatis*,
and others depending on His Majesty, who are included in the List of Officers,
but not enumerated here, those of the class of *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, the pro-
vincials, the cultivators, the Brāhmaṇas and the chief of the Brāhmaṇas :—

(Lines 39-51). Be it approved by you that: *Dāpaṇiyā-pāṭaka*, in the
direction of *Kāntāpura*, on the *Rāvaṇa* lake....., in *Varendrī*, lying
within the *Paundravardhanabhukti*, having the four boundaries as follows :
the eastern boundary being the land abutting on the western side of *Chaḍaspaśā-
pāṭaka* ; the southern boundary being the land abutting on the northern side of
Gayanagara ; the western boundary being the land abutting on the eastern side of
Guṇḍīsthirāpāṭaka ; and the northern boundary being the land abutting on the
southern side of *Guṇḍīdāpaṇiyā*. . . . measuring one hundred *bhūkhāḍīs* and ninety
one *khāḍikāḥ*, yielding an annual income of one hundred *purāṇas* and sixty-
eight *kaparīdakas*¹ and intended for the maintenance of Brāhmaṇas and deities by
you (?), along with forest and branches, land and water, pits and barren tracts,
betelnut and cocoanut trees, exempt from the Ten sins, free from all sorts of
forced labour, not to be entered by *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, free from all dues, along
with grass, *pūti* plant and pasture (?), is given by Us in the name of lord *Nārā-
yaṇabhattachāraka*, after having duly touched water, for the increase of merit and
fame of myself and my parents, according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra*,
for as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure, to Govindadevaśarmman who
is in charge of the house of propitiatory rites, great-grandson of *Dāmodaradeva-
śarmman*, grandson of *Rāmadevaśarmman* and son of *Kumāradevaśarmman*,
belonging to the *Kauśika gotra*, *pravara*, a student of the *Paippalāda
śākhā* of the *Atharvaveda*, (on the occasion of) the *Aindrī Māhāsānti* (cere-
mony) the first coronation on the **twenty-seventh day of Śrāvaṇa**

(Lines 51-53). So it should be agreed upon by all of you and protected
also by future kings, considering that its protection leads to the increase of
religious merit and its taking away, the fear of falling into Hell.

There are also in this matter verses enjoining Dharma : (Here follow a few
of the customary verses of which three are legible ; for their translation see above
p. 79 : vv. 16,15,17).²

¹ In the original the passage stands thus कपई काष्ठट्टिपुराणाधिकृत etc. which is probably meant for
कपई काष्ठट्टिपुराणाधिकृत ।

² It is not certain whether any further information was contained in the portion immediately following these
verses.

XII. DACCA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF LAKSHMANASENA.

This inscription, which is incised on the pedestal of an image of Chāṇḍī, was discovered in 1911 at Dal-bazar in the town of **Dacca** by Mr. R.D. Banerji. An account of the image as well as the inscription has already been published by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., Vol. IX (1913), pp. 289-290, and plates. In 1917 Mr. Banerji kindly presented me a set of inked estampages of the inscription and from these the present edition of the text was prepared some years ago. The image, which bears the inscription, has been described by Mr. Banerji as follows : "The image represents a goddess with four hands standing on a fully expanded lotus. She holds a lotus and a water-pot in her right hand, a battle axe in her upper left and her lower left hand is in the posture of blessing. A female attendant stands on each side of her holding a fly-whisk. The main image stands under a sort of porch or niche probably intended to represent a temple. On the pedestal is the inscription in two lines on a plain band in front and a recessed corner on each side. Below this is a lion couchant in front with three devotees kneeling on three recessed corners on each side. On the top of the niche or shrine are two elephants, one on each side with vases on their upraised trunks as if they are pouring water over the head of the goddess." Iconographically the sculpture is important, as no other image of Chāṇḍī of this type seems to be so far known.

The inscription, which is a small one, consisting of three parts (marked A,B,C), is not very carefully engraved. The **characters** are the precursors of modern Bengali as current in the twelfth century A.D. Attention should be drawn only to the letter which Mr. Banerji reads as *i*, but which I am inclined to read as *ī*, in *Māladeī*. The **language** is Sanskrit prose, presenting many inaccuracies. The form *deī* for *devī* betrays perhaps vernacular influence.

It records the installation of an image of Chāṇḍī by Nārāyaṇa, brother of an officer named Dāmodara, son of Māladeī, in the **year 3** of the reign of **Lakshmaṇasena**.

TEXT.

A 1 श्रीमल्लक्ष्मण-

2 सेनदेवस्य सं ३



ROYAL SEAL
of the Sena Kings
(from Tarpanadighi Plate)
Full Size

সীমাব্যয়ল
পুত্ৰপুত্রী

সীমাব্যয়ল
পুত্ৰপুত্রী
সীমাব্যয়ল
পুত্ৰপুত্রী

সীমাব্যয়ল
পুত্ৰপুত্রী

Dacca (or Rampal) Chandi Image inscription
of the reign of Lakshmanasena.

- B 1 ¹मालदेईसुतअधिकृतश्रीदामोद-
 2 ण ²श्रीचण्डीदेवी समारब्धा तभ्नादकणा³
 C 1 श्रीनारायणेन
 2 प्रतिष्ठितेति: ॥⁴

TRANSLATION.

A—In the year 3 of the illustrious Lakshmanasena.

B-C—(The image of) Chaṇḍidevī, begun by the officer⁵ Dāmodara, son of Māladeī (Malladevī), is installed by his (younger)⁶ brother Nārāyaṇa.

¹ The letter *la* is peculiar. Is it *lla* ?

² Perhaps *tad-bhrātrikena* was intended.

³ Read *Dāmodareṇa*.

⁴ Read - *eti*.

⁵ The word *adhikṛita* is translated as 'judge' by Mr. Banerji. Cf. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v., where the meaning 'officer', 'functionary' etc. is given in the light of *Kirāta*, VI, 46—*sambhāvanā hy=adhikṛitasya tanotī tejah*. Mallinātha explains it as *kvachid=adhikāre niyuktasya* (Nirnayasāgara ed., p. 89). The word should be therefore taken in a general sense, as officer. Cf. such titles of officers as *mudrādhikṛita*, 'officer in charge of the Royal-Seal', used in inscriptions.

⁶ The addition of the suffix *ka* probably indicates that Nārāyaṇa was a younger brother of Dāmodara. This portion is not translated by Mr. Banerji.

XIII.—EDILPUR COPPER-PLATE OF KEŚAVASENA.

This copper-plate, which is now missing, was discovered some time about 1838 in the Edilpur parganā of the District of Faridpur, in course of digging in a plot of 'land deposited by river inundation'. The actual findplace of the record is not known. It was presented by the late Babu Kanailal Tagore to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1838, and James Prinsep published his reading of the inscription, along with an English translation by Pandit Sārādāprasāda, in the Society's *Journal*, Vol. VII, pp. 43-46, 47-51 and facsimile. A revised reading was published by Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1914 in the same *Journal*, N. S., Vol. X, pp. 99-104. The following text is prepared after comparing the two hitherto published texts with Prinsep's facsimile, the Madanapāḍā grant as well as the newly discovered grant of Viśvarūpasena.

This is a **single plate** engraved on both sides, bearing the usual seal representing Sadāśiva at the top. In line 56, this seal is referred to as *Sadāśiva-mudrā*. The writing consists of 65 lines of which thirtyone are incised on the obverse and thirtyfour on the reverse.—The **characters** are proto-Bengali, as were current about the end of the 12th century A. D., being more developed than those of the copper-plates of Vijayasena, Vallālasena and Lakshmaṇasena. The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory formula *om om namo Nārāyaṇāya* the inscription is in verse upto the middle of line 38. The prose portion then begins and it continues up to about the end of line 58. This is followed again by metrical composition which terminates in line 64. The remaining portion of the record (ll. 64-65) is in prose. The verses are altogether thirtytwo in number, being composed in a variety of metres viz. Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Pṛithvī, Sragdharā, Pushpitāgrā, Āryā, Anuṣṭubh, Mandākrāntā and Mālinī. The influence of Bengali vernacular is traceable in a few cases e.g. the root in *laggāvayitvā* (l. 52) in the sense 'to cause to be planted'.

The inscription is one of 'the suzerain of the three lords—*aśvapati*, *gajapati*, *narapati*', 'the sun of the lotus-like Sena family', 'the lamp of the Soma lineage', the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, 'the devout worshipper of the Sun', *Mahārājādhirāja*, 'the lord of Gauḍa', the illustrious Keśavasena, having the *viruda*, *Arirāj-āsahya-Saṅkara*, who 'meditated on the feet of the *Arirāja-Madana-Saṅkara*, the lord of Gauḍa, the illustrious Lakshmaṇasena, who meditated on the feet of the *Arirāja-niḥsaṅka-Saṅkara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa', the illustrious Vallālasena, who again 'meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-vṛishabha-Saṅkara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa', the illustrious

Vijayasena (ll. 38-43.) The record opens with obeisance to god Nārāyaṇa, followed by an invocation to the sun and moon (vv. 1-2). In the line of the moon were born kings (v. 3), a descendant of whom was **Vijayasena** (v. 4). Verses 5-24 contain an eulogistic account of Vijayasena, his son **Vallālasena**, Vallālasena's son **Lakshmaṇasena** and Lakshmaṇasena's two sons, **Viśvarūpasena** and **Keśavasena**. Lakshmaṇasena is credited with having posted sacrificial pillars, along with pillars of victory, at three places, viz., on the coast of the southern sea, where *Musaladhara*, i.e. Balarāma and *Gadāpāṇi*, i.e. Viṣṇu, are installed, which is most probably Puri in Orissa; at the site of Viśveśvara, i.e. Benares, and at the junction of the three rivers (Trivenī), i.e. Allahabad (v. 13). Lakshmaṇasena's wife was the *Maharājñī Chāndrādevī* (v. 14). He had two sons, Viśvarūpa and Keśava, of whom the former is mentioned in verse 10 and the latter in verse 15. Keśavasena is described as born of Chāndrādevī (v. 15). He is represented as 'the day of destruction to the family of the Yavanas' (v. 21). The grant was issued from 'the camp of victory' situated at **Phalgugrāma** and addressed by the king to his various officials and also other persons, whose list is given in ll. 43-46. The land granted was **Talapadāpātaka**, which lay within **Vikramapura** in **Vaṅga**, belonging to the **Paundravardhanabhukti** (l. 47). The donee was the *nītipāthaka*, i.e. 'reciter of texts on morality', **Īśvaradevaśarmman**, of the Vātsya-gotra, and Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnavat, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras*. He was the son of Vanamālidevaśarmman, grandson of Garbbheśvaradevaśarmman and great-grandson of Parāsaradevaśarmman. The grant was made for 'the increase of the auspicious year' (*Subhavarsha*), i.e. 'the year of birth' and for the long life of the king (ll. 49-56). In line 57 the number 200 denotes the value of the land probably in terms of *dramma* as in the new copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena. The benedictory and imprecatory verses are given in lines 58-63. Then comes the last verse introducing the *dūta*, who is described as the prime minister of Gauḍa (v. 31). But his name is not legible. This is followed by the abbreviated form of official endorsement (ll. 64-65). The date of the record, viz. the (regnal) year 3, the month of Jyāishṭha and the . . . day, is given at the end (l. 65).

What has proved extremely puzzling to scholars is verse 10 of the record which runs as follows :

पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना सन्त्यज्य मुक्तिग्रहं
नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनीतीरे भवः प्रीणितः ।

एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधव्यवद्वद्रतो

विख्यातचित्तिपालमौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो नृपः ॥

This verse forms part of a lengthy description of king Lakshmaṇasena who is herein referred to as *bhūmipati*. The pronominal word *etasmāt*, which follows, must also be taken as referring to him. The substance of the verse may be given thus: "In his previous births Lakshmaṇasena must have propitiated Śiva, otherwise how could the head of princes, king Viśvarūpa be born to him?" Evidently, the phrase *Śriviśvarūpo nṛipaḥ* denotes his son, king Viśvarūpasena. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji, however, this interpretation is untenable. He would take *Viśvarūpa* as 'a surname and not a proper name'. "If we take it to be a proper name", says he, "we shall have to acknowledge that the word *etābhyām* in the 24th line refers to Viśvarūpa" and his wife. "Consequently in the Madanapādā grant we would have to admit that Viśvarūpasena was the son of king Viśvarūpa" (op. cit., p. 98). And similarly, according to Mr. Banerji, in the present copperplate, Viśvarūpasena would be made the father of Keśavasena. But both the conclusions are directly opposed to the internal evidence supplied by the prose portion of the two documents as well as the new plate of Viśvarūpasena, which unmistakably points out that they were both sons of Lakshmaṇasena. The question therefore naturally arises as to how the metrical portion of the respective documents be so interpreted as to be in perfect agreement with the data contained in the prose portion. Mr. Banerji's proposal to treat *Viśvarūpa* occurring in the aforesaid verse as an epithet does not simplify matters, since it can by no means be taken to be one of Vallālasena or of Lakshmaṇasena. The ablative in *etasmāt* definitely shows that, if an epithet at all, it must belong to the latter's son; and since the same verse occurs in all the three records and exactly in the same position, it stands to reason that it should be interpreted uniformly in all the cases. In each one of the verses, that intervene between the verse in question and *etābhyām* etc in line 24 (mentioning the birth either of Keśava as in the present copperplate or of Viśvarūpa as in the two other records), the king or his consort is referred to in terms of the pronoun *yad* e.g. *yatra*, *yasya*, *yena*, *yām*, etc. Thus the idea contained in these verses cannot have evidently any connection with, or reference to, the person or persons mentioned in the previous verses, but is necessarily dependent for its completion on the following verse (*etābhyām* etc.), in which the king and queen are denoted by the dual of the pronominal term *etad*. The construction of the intervening stanzas would not thus make it at all necessary to tag them on to the person,

who is described as *Viśvarūpa*, be it his epithet or name, in the stanza that precedes.

Verse 13 of this copperplate, *velāyān dakṣiṇābdher* etc. records that Lakshmaṇasena proceeded on a conquering expedition to Benares and Allahabad in the North and to the seacoast in the South. A similar statement occurs also in verse 11 of the Mādhānagar grant (above p. 111), which credits him with a victory over Kāśī and Kalinga.

In verse 21, Keśavasena is eulogised as 'the day of destruction' to a certain line of Yavanas, i.e. Muhammadans. A word which has been read as *sagandha* is found here prefixed to *Yavana*, whereas in the same verse in the Madanapādā grant it clearly reads *sagarga*. Mr. Jayaswal¹ equates *garga* with *Garjha*, i.e. Gharjistan, and is of opinion that this verse records a victory of Keśavasena over a party of raiders led by Muhammad Ghorī. But there is nothing else in support of the statement.

TEXT.

Obv rse.

- 1 ॐ² नमो नारायणाय ॥ ³ वन्देऽरविन्दवनवान्वमन्वकारकारानिवद्धभुवनत्रयमुक्ति-
हेतुम् । पर्यायविस्तृतसितसितपत्रयुग्ममुद्यान्तम-
- 2 इतखर्गं निगमद्रुमस्य ॥ [1 *] ⁴ पर्यस्तस्फटिकाचलां वसुमतीं विश्वम्बिमुद्रीभवन्मुक्ता-
कुट्मलमब्धिमस्वरनदीवन्यावनद्धं नभः उद्भिर्ज्ञासित-
- 3 मञ्जरोपरिचिता दिक्कामिनीः कल्पयन् प्रत्युन्मीलतु पुष्पशायकयशो जन्मान्तरञ्चन्द्रमाः ॥
[2 *] ⁵ एतस्मात् चितिभारनिःसहशिरोद-
- 4 र्वाकरग्रामणीविश्रामोत्सवदानदीक्षितमुजास्ते भूभुजो जज्ञिरे । येषामप्रतिमल्ल-
विक्रमकथारब्धप्रवन्धाइतव्याख्यानन्दवि-
- 5 निद्रसान्द्रपुलकैर्यासाः सदस्यैर्द्दिशः ॥ [3 *] ⁶ अवातरदयान्वये महति तत्र देवः
स्वयं सुधाकिरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्या-
- 6 ख्यया । यदंघ्रिनखधोरणिस्फुरितमौलयः क्षमाभजो दशास्यनतिविभ्रमं विदधिरै
किलैकैकशः ॥ [4 *] ⁷ नीलाश्वोरुहसो-
- 7 दरोऽपि दलयन्मर्माणि कादम्बिनौकान्तोऽपि ज्वलयन्मनांसि मधुपस्त्रिग्वोऽपि
तन्वन्भयम् । निष्पिक्ताञ्जनसन्नि-

¹ J. B. O. R. S., 1918, p. 171.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁶ Metre : Prithvī.

⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 8 भोऽपि जनयन्नेत्रकृमं वैरिणां यस्याशेषजनाङ्गताय समरे कौन्तेयकः खेलति ॥ [5 *]
¹इषन्निस्त्रिंशनिद्राविरहवि-
- 9 लसितैर्वैरिभूपालवंश्यानुच्छिद्योच्छिद्य मूलावधि भुवमखिलां शासतो यस्य राज्ञः ।
 आसोत्तेजोजिगीषा सह दि-
- 10 वसकरेणैव दोषस्तुलाभूङ्गर्त्तवाशीविषाणामजनि दिग्धिपरेव सीमाविवादः ॥ [6 *]
²खेलत्खड्गलतापमार्जनह-
- 11 तप्रत्यर्थिदर्पज्वरस्तस्मादप्रतिमल्लकीर्तिरभव हल्लालसेनो नृपः । यस्यायोधन-
 सीम्नि शोणितसरिद्भुमञ्चरा-
- 12 यां हृताः संसक्तहिपदन्तदण्डशिविकामारोप्य वैरिभ्यः³ ॥ [7 *] ⁴श्रीकान्तोऽपि
 न मायया वलिजयी वागोश्वरोऽप्यक्ष-
- 13 रं वक्तुं नेत्यपटुः कलानिधिरपि प्रोन्मुक्तदोषाग्रहः । भोगोन्द्रोऽपि न जिह्वगैः
 परिवृतस्त्रैलोक्यरेखा-
- 14 इतस्तस्मात्तत्तमणसेनभूपतिरभूङ्गलोककल्पद्रुमः ॥ [8 *] ⁵प्रत्यूषे निगङ्गस्त्रै-
 द्रियमितप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभुजां
- 15 मध्याङ्गे जलपानमुक्तकरटिप्रोत्तालघण्टारवेः । सायं वेशविलासिनोजनरणम्ञ्जोर-
 मञ्जुस्त्रनैर्येनाका-
- 16 रि विभिन्नशब्दघटनावन्धन्तिसन्ध्यं नभः ॥ [9 *] ⁶पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना
 सन्ध्यञ्च मुक्तिग्रहं नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनौतीरे
- 17 भवः प्रोणितः । एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवध्वैधव्यबद्धव्रतो विख्यातः क्षितिपालमौ-
 लिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो नृपः ॥ [10 *] ⁷न गग-
- 18 नतल एव शीतरश्मिन्ने कनकभूधर एव कल्पशाखी । न विवुधपुर एव देवराजो
 विलसति यत्र धरावतारभाजि ॥ [11 *] ⁸वाह्वारणह-
- 19 स्तकाण्डसदृशौ वक्षः शिलासंहतं वाणाः प्राणहरा द्विषां मदजलप्रस्यन्दिनो दन्तिनः ।
 यस्यैतां समराङ्गप्रणयिनीं कृत्वा
- 20 स्थितिं वेधसा को जानाति कुतः कृतो न वसुधाचक्रोऽनुरूपो रिपुः ॥ [12 *]
⁹वेलायां दक्षिणाब्धेर्मुसलधरगदापाणिसंवासवे-
- 21 द्यां क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसिवरणाश्लेषगङ्गोर्मिभाजि । तीरोत्सङ्गे त्रिविण्याः
 कमलभवमखारम्भनिर्व्व्याजपूते ये-

¹ Metre : Sragdharā.⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metre : Pushpitāgrā.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Banerji reads *striyaḥ*.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre : Sragdharā.

- 22 नोच्चैर्यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस्तम्भमाला न्यधाय ॥ [13 *] ¹यान्निर्माय पवित्र-
पाणिरभवद्देधाः सतीनां शिखारत्नं या किमपि
- 23 स्वरूपचरितैर्विश्वं ययालङ्कृतम् । लक्ष्मीभूरपि वाञ्छितानि विदधे यस्याः सपत्न्यौ
महाराज्ञी श्रौचान्द्रादेवौ स्व(त?)स्य महिषो
- 24 साभूत्विवर्गोचिता ॥ [14 *] ²एताभ्यां शशिशेखरगिरिजाभ्यामिव बभूव
शक्तिधराः । श्रौ[केशव]सेनदेवः प्रतिभटभूपालमुकुट-
- 25 मणिः ॥ [15 *] ³दृष्ट्यर्शमवाप्य ⁴विश्वजयिनो यस्य द्विजानां पयःपात्रैर्लोहम-
यैर्हिरण्यपदवो प्राप्तेति की विस्रयः । एतस्मिन्पतो
- 26 प्रतापमहति प्रत्ययिष्ठ्योभुजां यत्पात्राणि हिरण्ययान्यपि पुनः
यातान्ययोवर्णताम् ॥ [16 *] ⁵आकौमारमपारसङ्गरहरव्यापार-
- 27 तृणावशस्वान्तस्यास्य निशम्य वीरपरिषद्वन्द्यस्य दोर्विक्रमम् । नेदं नेदमिदञ्च नेति
चकितैर्दुर्गं प्रविश्य द्रुतं निर्गच्छद्भिर-
- 28 रातिभूपनिवहैर्भ्रास्यद्भिरैवास्यते ॥ [17 *] ⁶आकर्णञ्चलमेलकारविशिखच्छेपैः
समाजे द्विषां दानाभः कणगर्भदर्भकलनैर्गो-
- 29 ष्ठीषु निष्ठावताम् । नीवोबन्धविसारणैः परिषदि तस्यत्कुरङ्गोदृशामव्यापारसुखासिकां
क्षणमपि प्राप्नाति नैतत्करः ॥ [18 *]
- 30 ⁷तापोच्छैः ⁸परिशोलितैश्च सरितां कच्छस्थलीनौरदैर्नरैर्मथैव नभस्तटोमरकतैः
क्षुप्ता भुवः क्ष्मारुहः । नीलग्रा-
- 31 वकदम्बकैरविरला भोगिव वेलावली ⁹लेखासीददसोययञ्चहुतभुग्धूमावली खेलति ॥
[19 *] ¹⁰कल्पक्ष्मारुहकाननानि कनकक्ष्माभृदि-

Reverse.

- 32 भागान्निधिं रत्नानां पुलिनान्तराणि च परिभ्रम्य प्रयासालसाः । एतत्पादपयोधर-
प्रणयिनि च्छायावितानाञ्चले विश्राम्यन्ति सतामनि-
- 33 द्रविदशोदुभान्ता मनोवृत्तयः ॥ [20] ¹¹किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुलितलोकपालावली-
विलोकितविशृङ्खलप्रधनजैत्रयात्राभरः । शशास पृ-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Metre : Āryā.³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Banerji reads *sthāna* instead of *sparśa*.⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Banerji reads *tāpichehhaik*.⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Banerji reads *muktāvali*. Cf. however the new plate of Viśvarūpasena.¹¹ Metre : Prithvī.

- 34 थिवीमिमां प्रथितवीरवर्गाग्रयोः सगर्ग-यवनान्वय-प्रलयकालरुद्रो नृपः ॥ [21 *]
¹पद्मालयेति या ख्यातिर्लक्ष्म्या एव जगत्तये सरस्वत्य-
- 35 पि तां लेभे यदाननक्ततालया ॥ [22 *] ²अरुह्याभ्रंलिहृष्टहृष्टिखामस्य सौन्दर्य-
 लेखां पश्यन्तोभिः पुरि विहरतः पौरसीमन्तिनीभिः ।
- 36 वार्त्ताकृतैर्नयनचलितैर्विस्मयं दर्शयन्त्यो दृष्टाः सख्यः क्षणविघटितप्रेमरुद्धैः
 कटाक्षैः ॥ [23 *] ³एतेनोन्नतवेश्मसङ्कटभुवः स्त्री-
- 37 तस्वतोसैकतक्रोडालोलमरालकोमलकलक्वाणप्रणीतोत्सवाः । विप्रेभ्यो ददिरे मही-
 मघवतानेकप्रतिष्ठाभृतः पाकप्रक्रमशा-
- 38 लिशालिशवलक्षेत्रोत्कटाः कर्कटाः ॥ [24 *] इह खलु फल्गुग्राम-परिसर-
 श्रीमज्जयस्कावारात् समस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत अरिराजवृष-
- 39 भशङ्करगौडेश्वर-श्रीमहिजयसेनदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत अरिराज-
 निःशङ्कशङ्करगौडेश्वर-श्रीमद्वलालसेन-
- 40 देवपादानुध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत ⁴अरिराजमदनशङ्कर-गौडेश्वर-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेन-
 देवपादानुध्यातसमस्त-
- 41 स्वप्रशस्त्युपेत अश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिसेनकुलकमलविकासभास्कर-
 सोमवंशप्रदीप-प्रतिपन्न-
- 42 कर्ण सत्यव्रतगाङ्गेय-शरणागतवज्रपञ्जर-परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-
 अरिराज-अ-
- 43 सच्चशङ्कर-गौडेश्वरश्रीमत्केशवसेनदेवपादा विजयिनः ॥ समुपगताशेषराज-
 राजन्यक-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-रा-
- 44 जामात्य-महापुरोहित-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्निविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महादौः
 साधिक-चौरोद्वरणिकनौवलह-
- 45 स्थश्व-गोमहिषाजाविकादिव्याघ्रत-गौत्तिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायकविषयपत्या-
 दीनन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनो
- 46 ⁵अध्यक्षानध्यक्षप्रवरांश्च चट्टभट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणब्राह्मणोत्तरांश्च यथाहं मानयन्ति
 बोधयन्ति समादिशन्ति च वि-

¹ Metre : Anushtubh.

² Metre : Mandākrānta.

³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Banerji reads *sūdana* for *madana*.

⁵ The letter *a* is superfluous. But cf. the two other copper-plates for the correct form of the *virūda*.

- 47 दितुमस्तु भवतां यथा पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-वङ्गे विक्रमपुरभाग(नि)...
तालपड़ापाठक (:)
- 48 पूर्व्वे सचकादीग्रामः सीमा दक्षिणे शाङ्करपाशागोविन्दकेलिनो भूः सीमा पश्चिमे
पञ्चको.....शङ्करग्रामः सी-
- 49 मा उत्तरे वागुलीवित्तगदो. . . . मानभूः सीमा इत्यं यथाप्रसिद्धस्वसीमावच्छिन्ना
वृहत्तृपतिचरणैः शुभव-
- 50 षष्ठ्यौ दीर्घायुष्टकामनया¹ समुत्सर्गित साश्वतन्दायोत्पत्तिक² सा रं³भूमिः सभाट-
विटपाः³ सगर्तोषराः⁴ सजलस्थ-
- 51 ला सखिलनाला⁵ सगुवाकनालिकेरा अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशा लणपूतिपर्यन्ता आचन्द्राकं-
क्षितिसमकालं यावत् देवकुल-⁶
- 52 पुष्करिण्यादिकं कारयित्वा गुवाकनारिकेलादिकं लग्गावयित्वा पुत्रपौत्रादिसन्तति-
क्रमेण खच्छन्दोपभोगे-
- 53 नोपभोक्तं वात्स्यसगोत्रस्य भार्गवच्यवन-आपुवान-और्व-जामदग्न्य-पञ्चप्रवरस्य
परासरदेवशर्म्भणः प्रपौत्रा-
- 54 य वत्ससगोत्रस्य तथा पञ्चप्रवरस्य गर्भेश्वरदेवशर्म्भणः पौत्राय वत्ससगोत्रस्य तथा
पञ्चप्रवरस्य वनमालिशर्म्भणः
- 55 पुत्राय वत्ससगोत्राय भार्गव-चावन-आपुवान-और्व-जामदग्न्य-पञ्चप्रवराय नो(?)ति
पाठक(।)य⁷ श्रीईश्वरदेवशर्म्भणे ब्रा-
- 56 ह्मणाय सदाशिवमुद्रया मुद्रयित्वा तृतीयाब्दीय⁸ ज्यैष्ठ्यदिना(नि) भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन.....
ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तास्माभिः
- 57 यत्र चतुःसीमावच्छिन्न सां शासनभू हि २००⁹ तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि-
नृपतिभिरपहरणे नरक-
- 58 पातभयात् पालने धर्म्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् ॥ भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशंसिनः स्त्रीकाः ।
¹⁰आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो बलायन्ति
- 59 पितामहाः भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ [25 *] ¹⁰भूमिं यः
प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यक-

¹ Read *dirghāyushklāmanayā*.² Read *śāsvatan*. ^{2a} Cf. also l. 57.³ Read *viṭapā*.⁴ Read *oṣharā*.⁵ *palāsātālā*—Banerji.⁶ *dinam nānā*—Banerji. But cf. the new copperplate of Viśvarūpasena, reverse, l. 26.⁷ *śrutiṣāṭhaka*—Prinsep and Banerji. But the *ī* stroke in the first letter is very clear.⁸ *dutiyākīya*—Prinsep and Banerji. But cf. *chaturdaśābdīya*—*Bhādradine* in the Madanapāḍā grant, l. 51.⁹ Banerji follows Prinsep in reading the figure as 300. But the first sign is 2 and not 3.¹⁰ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

- 60 अर्णौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [26 *] ¹बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [27 *] ¹खद-
- 61 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह
पच्यते ॥ [28 *] ¹ब्रष्टिं वर्धसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
- 62 आत्मेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [29 *] ²सर्वेषामिव दानानामेक-
जन्मानुगं फलम् । [30 *] ³इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रिय-
- 63 मनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकौर्त्तयो
विलोप्याः ॥ [31 *] ⁴सचिवशतमौलिलालिता(तः) प-
- 64 दास्वजस्यानुशासने दूतः⁵ श्री⁶. . . . रभवद्गौडमहामहत्तकः[ख्यातः]⁷ ॥ [32*]
श्रीमन्महासाकराणि नि श्रीमहामत्तक⁸. . .
- 65 करण नि ॥ श्रीमत् करणनौ (नि) ॥ सं ज्यैष्ठदिने. . .

TRASLATION.

Om. Om. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(Verse 1). I adore him⁹, who is the friend of lotus-beds, the source of deliverance of the three worlds withheld in the prison of darkness and the wonderful bird of the tree of the Vedas, soaring high up on his two alteranately expanding wings, of which one is white and the other black.¹⁰

(Verse 2). May the moon restore Bacchus to his fame in the next birth, making the earth full, as it were, of crystal mountains, the ocean overflowing with myriads of pearls, the sky flooded by the water of the Heavenly river and the several quarters appearing like ladies adorned with smiling flowers.

(Verse 3). From him were born kings, whose hands were trained in giving rest and recreation to the lord of serpents who bears on his head the burden of the earth. Their priests, who rejoiced in the marvellous interpretation of their unrivalled tales of heroism, filled up all the quarters of the globe.

(Verse 4). In that great family there arose **Vijayasena**, who was as it were the crescent-headed god (i.e. Siva) himself. The kings bowing down to him had the brilliant flash of the (ten) nails of his feet reflected on their heads and (thus) each one of them looked like the Ten-headed one (Rāvaṇa) bowing down to him.

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh

² Metre : Mālinī.

³ *śrīyutadattodbhava*—Prinsep and Banerji. Cf. *Śrī Kōpīśhmurabhavat* in the last verse of the Madanapādā grant.

⁴ I.E. the Sun.

⁵ Part of a verse in Anuṣṭubh metre.

⁶ Metre : Aryā.

⁷ *Śāsanabhūta*—Prinsep and Banerji.

⁸ The last two letters are not clear.

⁹ *mahanuka*—Banerji.

¹⁰ I. E. the two fortnights.

(Verse 5). His sword played in the war to the astonishment of all people. Though resembling a blue lotus, it crushed the hearts (of men) ; though beautiful like a bank of clouds, it brought sufferance to minds ; though tender like the bee, it spread terror and though looking like painted collyrium (on eyes), it made the eyes of his enemies painful.

(Verse 6). He ruled over the whole earth, having uprooted all the inimical royal houses by the ceaseless play of his little sword. In point of glory his rival was the Sun-god himself ; his hand could stand comparison to the lord of serpents, and he entered into a boundary dispute with the lords of the cardinal points !

(Verse 7). From him was born **Vallālasena** of matchless fame, who by the touch of the creeping plant, namely, his sword, cured his opponents of their fever of arrogance. He carried away the fortune goddesses of his enemies on palanquins supported by staffs made of elephant's tusk, from the battlefield, which was made impassable on account of a stream of blood.

(Verse 8). From him sprang up **Lakshmaṇasena**, the Wishing Tree on the earth, who was a wonder to the three worlds. Though resembling the husband of Lakshmī (i.e. Viṣṇu), he did not defeat the strong¹ by strategy, though resembling the god of speech, he was not able to pronounce the syllable 'No', though the source of all the arts², he was spotless and though the chief of the opulent, he was not surrounded by the crooked.

(Verse 9). He used to make the sky filled with three different kinds of sound on three different occasions (during the day) :—early in the morning, the jingle of the chains of the imprisoned kings, who were his adversarises ; at noon, the sound of the bells of elephants set free for drinking water ; and in the evening, the dulcet music arising from the anklets worn by courtezans.

(Verse 10). In hundreds of previous births that king, leavng aside all care for liberation, surely propitiated Śiva, on the banks of the Ganges, being desirous of having a son. Otherwise, how could be born to him the head of the princes, the illustrious king **Viśvarūpa**, who was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives ?

(Verses 11-13). On his (i.e. Lakshmaṇasena's) descent to the earth it seemed that the moon did not rest in the firmament alone, the Wishing Tree on the Golden Mountain, or the chief of the gods in the city of the gods.—He possessed

¹ Here the reference is to the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu in which he outwitted king Bali. The word *balin* is used here in a double sense.

² The word *kalānidhi* means also the moon who bears spots.

arms resembling the trunks of elephants, breast as hard as stone, arrows fatal to his enemies and tuskers exuding ichor (from their temples). Who knows why the creator, although he eagerly waited in his battle-field, did not bring into this world 'a foeman worthy of his steel'?—By him were planted pillars commemorating military victory, along with lofty sacrificial posts, on the coast of the Southern sea near the altar on which dwell the club-handed (god) and (the god) with a mace in his hand, at the site of **Viśveśvara** touched by the waves of the Ganges, embraced by the rivers Asi and Varanā in trepidation, and on the banks of the Three Rivers truly sanctified by Vedic sacrifices.

(Verse 14). That crest-jewel of ladies, after creating whom the god **Brahmā** considered his hands as sacred, who by her charms and conduct adorned the Universe and whose desires were fulfilled by the co-wives Earth and Fortune, —namely that 'great queen' **Chāndrādevī**, who was able to attain 'the three objects' (viz. *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*), became his chief consort.

(Verse 15). From this couple was born, as **Kārttikeya** from **Śiva** and **Pārvatī**, **Keśavasena**, the crown-jewel of his adversaries.

(Verse 16). Since the water-vessels of the **Brahmanas** made of iron turned into gold at a mere glance of this universal conqueror there is no wonder that the vessels of gold of his opposing princes should turn into iron in his presence.

(Verse 17). Ever since his youth he had a thirst for various military pursuits. The multitude of inimical kings hearing of the strength of his arms, which was eulogised by heroes, were alarmed, muttering "No, no, this is not so". Now they would enter their fortresses and again come out immediately; thus they would keep on moving about.

(Verse 18). His hands did not even for a moment find pleasure in inactivity. They would be kept engaged in discharging arrows drawn up to his ear when he is surrounded by foes, in handling the *darbha* grass soaked in water for consecrating gift in the assembly of the religious-minded and in loosening the girdles, when he is in the company of the bashful and deer-eyed ones (i.e. ladies).

(Verse 19). The smoke of his sacrificial fire used to be constantly spreading over (the earth), and the river banks appeared as if they were overgrown with **Tamāla** trees, the sky, as if enveloped in dense clouds, the trees as if covered by emeralds and the line of the seashore, laden with a multitude of sapphires.

(Verse 20). The distressed minds of good men having wandered about in the

forests of Kalpa trees, in the region of Golden Mountains, in mines of gems and along the different shores, have become tired on account of sleeplessness, and fed up with exertion are at last enjoying rest under the shadow of his cloudlike feet.

(Verse 21). While leading their warlike expeditions for gaining booty, the kings beheld him and were put into confusion, exclaiming, "O! what has befallen." That king, the chief among illustrious heroes, ruled this earth, and to the race of the **Garga-Yavanas** he was as it were the god Rudra, on the day of Destruction.

(Verse 22). Having made in his mouth her place of residence, the goddess of learning gained the title, *Padmālayā*, i.e. 'denizen of the lotus', by which Lakshmī (alone) had hitherto been known in the three worlds.

(Verse 23). When he would be passing through the city, the ladies of the city ascending on the tops of skyscraping houses would gaze upon his beautiful appearance and cast loving but reproachful glances at their female friends, displaying coquetry by the movement of their eyes, expressive of sensuality.

(Verse 24). By this Indra of the earth were given to the Brāhmaṇas, many famous villages, which were crowded with lofty buildings, and joyful on account of the sweet and melodious sound made by the geese restlessly sporting about on river banks. These villages had smooth fields, growing excellent paddy.

(Ll. 38-43). Now, here, from the camp of victory situated at **Phalgugrāma**, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the *Parameśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the devout worshipper of the Sun, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Arirāja-asahya-Saṅkara*, the illustrious **Keśavasena**, the victorious, endowed with his usual titles, 'the suzerain over the threefold lord' viz. *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati* and *Narapati*, the sun who expands with his rays the lotus-like **Sena** family, the lamp of the Soma lineage, the person who is regarded a (second) **Karṇa**, as much devoted to truth as the offspring of Gaṅgā and a secure refuge for those who seek his protection; who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, the *Arirāja-Madana-Saṅkara*, the lord of Gauḍa, endowed with his usual titles, who again meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vallālasena**, the *Arirāja-niḥsaṅka-Saṅkara*, the lord of Gauḍa, endowed with his usual titles, meditating on the feet of the illustrious **Vijayasena**, the *Arirājavṛishabha-Saṅkara*, the lord of Gauḍa, endowed with his usual titles—

(Ll. 43-46) duly pays his compliments to, informs and orders those that are present, namely, all the *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, queens, *Rāṇakas*, the princes and

ministers, the *Mahāpurohita*, *Mahādharmādhyaksha*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahādarūṣādhika*, *Chauroddharanika*, officers engaged over the fleet, army, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc., as well as the *Gaulmikas*, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, *Vishayapatis*, and others, all who are dependant on His Majesty, the superintendents of Departments and their heads, those who belong to the class of *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, the Brāhmaṇas and their chiefs ;

(Ll. 46-50). Be it known to you that *Tālapadā-pāṭaka*, which is in *Vikramapura* in *Vaṅga*, situated within *Paundravarddhanabhukti*, bounded by its wellknown boundaries viz., the village of *Sattrakādvī* to the east, the boundaries of the land belonging to (the villages) *Śāṅkarapāśā* and *Govindakelī*¹ to the south,.....the village of *Śāṅkara* to the north and *Bāgulivittagada*... to the west, is given away by His Highness the king, on the occasion of 'the auspicious year'², with the intention of attaining long life,

(L. 56) by means of a copper-plate charter, to which is affixed the seal of *Sadāśiva*, according to the principle of *bhūmichchhidra*, in the month of *Jyaishṭha* of the second regnal year,

(Ll. 53-56) to the Brāhmaṇa, *Īśvaradevaśarmman*, the reciter of moral texts, having the five *pravaras* viz. *Bhārgava*, *Chyāvana*, *Āpnuvāna*, *Aurvva* and *Jāmadagnya*, belonging to *Vātsya* gotra, who was a son of *Vanamālidevaśarmman* of the five *pravaras* and *Vātsya* gotra, grandson of *Garbbheśvaradevaśarmman*, of the five *pravaras* and *Vātsya* gotra and great-grandson of *Parāsaradevśarmman* who also had the five *pravaras* viz. *Bhārgava*, *Chyāvana*, *Āpnuvāna*, *Aurvva* and *Jāmadagnya* and belonged likewise to the *Vātsya* gotra, so that

(Ll. 50-53) the land which would eternally yield revenue, together with forest and branches, pits and barren tracts, land and water, waste and arable land, betelnut and cocoanut trees and which is not to be entered by *Chattas* and *Bhattas*, together with even grass and *pūti* plant, might be peacefully enjoyed by him, as well as his son, grandson and other descendants, as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure, having (thereon) erected temples, excavated tanks and so on, and planted betelnut, cocoanut and other trees.

(Ll. 57-58). The value of the land bounded on four sides is 200 (*drammas*).³ So you should all give your assent to this (charter) ; and future kings also should protect it, considering that its taking away entails the fear of falling into Hell

¹ Names of villages in Bengal beginning with the name of a deity and ending in *pāśā* and *kelī* are wellknown.

² I. E. birthday celebration according to Mr. Banerji. See *J.A.S.B.*, N.S. Vol. X, p. 99, n. 1.

³ Cf. the *Sāhitya-Parishat* copper-plate, below.

and its protection leads to great merit. There are also scriptural stanzas enjoining *Dharma*, in this matter.

[Here follow six of the customary verses and a half, for whose translation see above].

(Verse 32). The Prime-minister of *Gauḍa*.¹ was the *dūta*, engaged in the service of the lotus feet (of the king), which are caressed by the heads of a hundred ministers.

(Ll. 64-65). Passed by the clerk of the illustrious *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*,² by the clerk of the Prime-minister and by the clerk of the illustrious one (i.e. the king)³.

(L. 65). The year 3, the month of *Jyāishṭha*,.

¹ The name of the officer cannot be read. But cf. *Madanapādā* plate, last verse.

² In the original there is only *Mahāsā* which is an abbreviation for *Mahāsāndhi-vigrahika*.

³ The term *śrīmat* used here is rather vague, but may denote the king. Cf. *Śrīni* used in other inscriptions in this connection; above p. 64.

XIV. MADANAPĀḌĀ COPPER-PLATE OF VIŚVARŪPAŚENA.

In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1896, part I, pp. 6-15 and plates, this copper-plate was edited by Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu, who recorded its discovery in the following terms : "In the village Madanapāḍā, Post Office Pinjāri, Parganāh Kotālīpāḍa of the Faridpur district, a peasant whilst digging his field found a copper-plate and made it over to the land-holder, who kept it in his house. This plate was made over to me by Paṇḍita Lakshmī Candra Sāṁkhyatīrtha, in 1892" (*op. cit.*, p. 6). Subsequently, the copper-plate appears to have been acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. But it is now missing from its Collection, like the Edilpur plate.

This is a **single plate**, measuring 12½" by 10" and is engraved on both sides. It bears the usual seal at the top, representing Sadāśiva, and the seal is called *Sadāśiva-mudrā* in line 50. The writing consists of 60 lines of which thirty are incised on the obverse and thirty on the reverse. The **characters**, which are typical of the locality and period to which they belong, show the same stage of development as in the Edilpur copper-plate. The **language** is Sanskrit. After the usual formula *om om namo Nārāyaṇāya* the record contains twenty stanzas (ll. 1-31) which are common to the aforesaid grant.¹ From line 31 up to the beginning of line 53 the text is in prose. This is followed by seven verses (ll. 53-59). The remaining portion of the text (ll. 59-60) is again in prose. The verses, altogether twentyseven in number, are composed in a variety of metres viz. Vasantatilaka, Sārdūlavikrīḍita, Prithvī, Sragdharā, Pushpitāgrā, Mandākrāntā, Anuṣṭubh, Mālinī and Āryā. The **orthography** is practically the same as in other documents of the period. The inscription is one of 'the suzerain of the three lords' e.g. *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati* and *Narapati*, 'the sun of the lotus-like Sena family,' 'the lamp of the Soma lineage,' the *Paramēśvara*, *Parama-ṇaṭṭāraka*, 'the devout worshipping of the sun,' the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the illustrious **Viśvarūpasena**, having the surname *Arirāja-Vṛishabha-ṇāṅka-Saṅkara*, who 'meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-Madana-Saṅkara*, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the illustrious **Lakshmaṇasena**, who 'meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-niṣsaṅka-Saṅkara*, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the illustrious **Vallālasena**, who again 'meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-Vṛishabha-Saṅkara*, the lord of **Gauḍa**, the illustrious **Vijayasena** (ll. 32-38).

¹ Verses 12, 16, 18 and 19 of the Edilpur grant are wanting in this record. They occur, however, in the second copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena.

This record, like the Edilpur one, was issued from 'the camp of victory' situated at **Phalgugrāma** (l. 31). The grant consisted of the village of **Piñjokāshthi**, in two plots, yielding a revenue of 627 *purāṇas* (ll. 45, 52). It was made over to the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpadevaśarmman, a reciter of moral texts, great-grandson of Parāsaradevaśarmman, grandson of Garbbheśvaradevaśarmman, and son of Vanamālidevaśarmman, having the five *pravaras*, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvata, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya, and belonging to the Vātsya *gotra*. The village was situated in the **Vikramapura** division (*bhāga*) of **Vaṅga** which lay within the **Paundravardhana-bhukti** (ll. 42-50). The gift was made in the month of **Bhādra** of the 14th regnal year (l. 51), but it was finally executed on the 1st day of **Āśvina** of the year (l. 60). The customary stanzas are introduced in ll. 53-58. The name of the *dūta* of the grant, **Kopivishṇu**, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of **Gauḍa**, is mentioned in the last verse (v. 27). The charter was passed by the respective offices of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, the *Mahāmahattaka* and also of the king himself, as stated in the wellknown abbreviated formula at the end, in ll. 59-60.

This charter and the Edilpur grant belong to one and the same family as the genealogies of the two donees agree, Viśvarūpadevaśarmman being the brother of Īśvaradevaśarmman of the Edilpur grant. The reading of the name of Lakshmaṇasena's queen calls for some remarks. In the Edilpur grant, so far as Prinsep's facsimile goes, it looks like 'Chāndrādevī.' Mr. Vasu reads 'Tāndrā' in the present record; but the second letter appears to be more like *dā* than *ndrā*. In the new copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena, again, there occurs a rather unusual name which, according to M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī, should be read as 'Taṭṭana.' It is difficult to say which of these is the correct form of the queen's name.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription Mr. Vasu identifies Piñjokāshthi with Piñjāri, 'a postal village in the Parganāh Koṭālipāḍa, near the village of Madanapāḍa, where the grant was found.'¹ In view of this identification it is impossible to agree with those who regard Vikramapura of the copper-plates as different from the modern Vikrampur in Eastern Bengal and propose to locate it elsewhere.

TEXT.

Obverse.

ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥

1 वन्देऽरविन्दवनवासवमन्त्रकारकारानिबद्धभुवनत्रयमुक्तिहेतुम् । पर्यायविस्तृतसि-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

2. तासितपक्षयुग्ममुद्यान्तमद्भुतखगं निगमद्रुमस्य ॥ [1 *] ¹पर्यस्तस्फटिकाचलां वसुमतीं
विश्वगविमुद्रीभवनसुक्ताकुड्मलमश्विम-
3. स्वरनदीवन्यावनहं नभः । उद्भिन्नस्मितमञ्चरौपरिचिता दिक्कामिनीः कल्पयन्
प्रत्यम्बौलतु पुष्पसायकयशो जन्मान्तरं
4. चन्द्रमाः ॥ [2 *] ²एतस्मात् क्षितिभारनिःसहशिरोदर्वीकिरग्रामणौविश्रामोत्-
सवदानदीक्षितभुजास्ते भूभुजो जज्ञिरे । येषामप्र-
5. ³तिमल्लविक्रमकथारब्धप्रबन्धाद्भुतव्याख्यानन्दविनिद्रसान्द्रपुलकैर्युक्ताः
सदस्यैर्द्दिशः ॥ [3 *] ⁴अवातरदयान्वये महति तत्र देवः
6. स्वयं सुधाकिरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्यया । यदंघ्रिनखधोरणिस्फुरितमौलयः
क्ष्माभुजो दशास्यनतिविभ्रमं विद-
7. धिरे किलैकैकसः ॥ [4 *] ⁵नोलाभोरुहसोदरोपि दलयन्मर्माणि कादम्बिनी-
कान्तोपि ज्वलयन्मर्मांसि मधुपस्त्रिंशोपि तन्वन् भ-
8. यम् । निष्किंताञ्जनसन्निभोपि जनयन्नेतल्लम⁷ वैरिणां यस्याशिषजनाद्भुताय समरे
कौक्षेयकः खेलति ॥ [5 *] ⁸ईषन्निस्त्रिंशनि-
9. द्राविरहविलसितैर्वैरिभूपालवंश्यानुच्छिद्योच्छिद्य मूलावधि भुवमखिलां शासतो यस्य
राज्ञः । आसीत्तेजोजिगीषा सह दिव-
10. सकरिणैव दोष्णस्तुलाभूद्भुत्तेवाशीविषाणामजनि दिगधिपैरेव सौमाविवादः ॥
[6 *] ⁹खेलत्खड्गलतापमार्जनकृतप्रत्यर्थि-
11. दर्पज्वर स्तस्मादप्रतिमल्लकीर्तिरभवद्वल्लालसेनो नृपः यस्यायोधनसीञ्जि
शोणितसरिद्रुःसञ्चरायां हताः संसक्तद्विप-
12. दन्तदण्डशिविकामारोप्य वैरिभ्रियः ॥ [7 *] ¹⁰श्रोक्तान्तोपि न मायया वल्लिजयी
वागीश्वरोप्यक्षरं वक्तुं नेत्यपटुः कलानिधिरपि^{10a} ॥
13. प्रोन्मुक्तदोषाग्रहः । भोगीन्द्रोपि न जिह्मगैः परिहृतस्त्वै लोक्वरेखाद्भुतस्तस्माल्लक्ष्मण-
सेन भूपतिरभूद्भूलोककल्पद्रुमः ॥ [8 *]
14. ¹¹प्रत्युषे निगडखनैर्नियमितप्रत्यर्थिभूमौभुजां मध्याह्ने जलपानमुत्तकरटिप्रोद्दाल-
घण्टारवैः । सायं वैशविलासिनोज-
15. नरणन्मञ्जोरमञ्जुस्वनेर्यनाकारि विभिन्नशब्दघटनावन्धं त्रिसन्ध्यां नभः ॥ [9*]
¹²पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना सन्त्यज्य मुक्तिप्र-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Vasu reads *manda*.⁴ Metre : Prithvī.⁵ Read *aikāśah*.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Vasu reads *kramāṁ*.⁸ Metre : Śragdharā.⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁰ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^{10a} This sign is unnecessary.¹¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 16 इं मूनं तेन सुतायिना सुरधुनोतीरे हरः प्रीणितः । एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुबधूवे-
धव्यवहव्रतो विख्यातचित्तिपालमौ-
- 17 लिरभवत् श्रीविष्णुरूपो नृपः ॥ [10*] ¹न गगनतल एव शीतरश्मिः न
कनकभूधर एव कल्पशाखी न विबुधपुर एव देवराजो
- 18 विलसति यत्र धरावतारभाजि ॥ [11*] ²वेलायां दक्षिणावर्त्तसलधरगदा-
पाणिसंवासवेद्यां क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्मुरदसिवर-
- 19 णाश्लेषगङ्गोर्भिभाजि । तोरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः कमलभवमखारभनिर्व्याजपूते येनोच्चै
र्यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस्त-
- 20 भमाला न्यधायि ॥ [12*] ³यां निर्माय पवित्रपाणिरभवद्वेधाः सतोषाः शिखारत्नं
या किमपि स्वरूपचरितैर्विश्वं ययालङ्कृतम् ।
- 21 लक्ष्मीर्भरपि वाञ्छितानि विदधे यस्याः सपत्न्यौ महाराज्ञौ श्रीताडादेवि⁴ तदस्य
महिषी साभूच्चिवर्गोचिता ॥ [13*] ⁵एताभ्यां शशिशेख-
- 22 रगिरिजाभ्यामिव बभूव शक्तिधरः । श्रीविष्णुरूपसेनदेव प्रतिभटभूपासमुकुट-
मणिः ॥ [14*] ⁶आकौमारमपारसङ्गरभरव्यापा-
- 23 रदृष्ट्यावशस्त्रान्तस्यास्य निशम्य वीरपरिषदस्य दोर्विक्रमम् । नेदं नेदमिदञ्च
नेति चकितैर्दुर्गं प्रविश्य द्रुतं निर्गच्छ-
- 24 झिररातिभूपनिवहैर्भ्रात्र्यङ्गिरेवास्यते ॥ [15*] ⁷कल्पक्ष्मावहकाननानि कनकक्ष्मा-
वृद्धिभागान्निधिं रत्नानां पुलिनान्तराणि च परि-
- 25 भ्रम्य प्रयासालसाः । एतत्पादपयोधरप्रणयिनि च्छायावितानाञ्चले विश्राम्यन्ति
सतामनिद्रविदशोद्भ्रान्ता मनोवृत्तयः ॥ [16*]
- 26 ⁸किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुलितलोकपालावली-विलोकितविशृङ्खलप्रधनजैत्रजात्राभवः⁹ ।
शशास पृथिवीमिमां प्रथितवीरव-
- 27 गर्गाग्रणीः स गर्गाग्रवनान्वयप्रलयकालरुद्रो नृपः ॥ [17*] ¹⁰पद्मालयेति या
ख्यातिर्लक्ष्म्या एव जगत्त्रये । सरस्वत्यपि तां लेभे यदानन-
- 28 क्ततालया ॥ [18*] ¹¹आरुह्याभ्रंलिङ्गदृष्टशिखामस्य सौन्दर्यरेखां पश्यन्तीभिः पुरि
विहरतः पौरसीमन्तिनीभिः । वार्त्ताकृतैर्नय-

¹ Metre : Pushpitāgrā.² Metre : Sragdharā.³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Vasu reads *Tāndrā*. Read *devī*.⁵ Metre : Āryā.⁶ Vasu reads *śrīr-Viśva*. The letters *Viśvarūpa* in l. 38 are engraved in a different hand and smaller in size. Mr. Banerji thinks that "a name with three syllables was originally inscribed; later on it was erased and the name *Viśvarūpa*, with four syllables substituted for it"—J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 98.⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre : Prithvī.¹⁰ Read *yātrā*. Vasu reads *bharāḥ*.¹¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.¹² Metre : Māṇḍākrāntā.

29 नवलितैर्विभ्रमं दर्शयन्त्यो दृष्टाः¹ सत्यः क्षणविघटितप्रेमरूचैः कटाक्षैः ॥ [19 *]

²एतेनोन्नतवेश्मसङ्कटभुवः स्तोतस्वतो-

30 सैकतक्रौडालोलमरालकोमलकलक्वाणप्रणीतोत्सवाः । विप्रेभ्यो ददिरे महीमघवता³
नाकप्रतिष्ठाभृतः प्राक् प्र-

Reverse.

31 क्रमशालिशालिशवलचेन्नोत्कटाः कर्व्यटाः ॥ [20 *] इह खलु फल्गुग्राम-

परिसरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् सम-

32 स्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत अरिराजवृषभशङ्करगौड़ेश्वर-श्रीमहिजयसेनदेवपादानुध्यात-
समस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत अरिराज-

33 निःशङ्कशङ्कर-गौड़ेश्वर-श्रीमद्वल्लालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात समस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत
अश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधि-

34 पति-सेनकुलकमलविकासभास्कर सोमवंशदीपप्रतिपन्नकर्ण सत्यव्रतगाङ्गेय-शरणा
गतवज्रपञ्चर-परमेश्वर-

35 र-परमभट्टारक-परमसौर-महाराजाधिराज अरिराज-मदनशङ्कर-गौड़ेश्वर-
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादानुध्या-

36 त अश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति-सेनकुलकमलविकासभास्कर-सोमवंश
प्रदीपप्रतिपन्नकर्ण सत्यव्र-

37 तगाङ्गेय-शरणागतवज्रपञ्चर-परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-परमसौर-महाराजाधिराज-
अरिराजवृषभ(ग)शङ्कर-

38 गौड़ेश्वर-श्रीमत्विश्वरूपसेन⁴देवपादा विजयिनः । समुपगताशेषराजन्यक-राज्ञो-
राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-म-

39 हापुरोहित-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्धिविशिष्ट-महासेनापति-दौःसाधिक-
चौरोद्धरणिक-नीवलहस्त्यश्व-गोम-

40 हिषाजाविकादिव्याघृत-गौत्तिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपत्यादोनन्यांश्च
सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्ष-

41 प्रवरान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांश्च यथाहं मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति
समादिशन्ति विदितमस्तु भवतां य-

¹ Vasu reads *trishnāh*.

² Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Vasu reads *mahā*.

⁴ The letters *Viśvarūpa* are engraved in a different hand and smaller size.

- 42 या पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति -वङ्गे विक्रमपुरभागे पूर्वं अठपागग्रामजङ्गलभूः
सीमा दक्षिणे वारयीपड़ाग्रामभूः सी-
- 43 मा पश्चिमे उच्चोकाष्टोग्रामभूः सीमा उत्तरे वीरकाष्टोजङ्गलसीमा इत्यं
चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः पिञ्जोकाष्टोग्राममध्यात् कन्दर्पाशङ्करा-
- 44 ग्रामौय (?) पदातिश्रधामार्क्या (?) हात्रिंशत्पराणोत्तरत्नी(त्रि)शतिक (?) १३२ सहिः
सी भूहि ५०० तथा कन्दर्पाशङ्कराशभूमौ नारण्डपग्रामे....
- 45 हि १२७ (?)¹ हाभ्या²सप्तविंशतिपुराणाधिक सच्छित्ता (?) षट् शतिक्रीत्यत्तिकपिञ्जी-
काष्टोग्रामः सजलस्थलः सभाटविटपः³ सोषरमगुवाकनारिकेलस्तृणपू-
- 46 तिपूर्व्वान्त उपरोल्लिखित चतुःसि(सी)मावच्छिन्नपिञ्जोठाग्रामोऽयं शिवपुराणोक्त-
भूमिदानफ-
- 47 लप्राप्तिकामनया वत्ससगोत्रस्य भार्गव-च्यवन-आप्नुवतश्रीर्व-जामदग्न्यप्रवरस्य
परासरदेवशर्मेणः प्रपौत्राय व-
- 48 त्ससगोत्रस्य भार्गव-च्यवन-आप्नुवत-श्रीर्व-जामदग्न्यप्रवरस्य गर्भेश्वरदेवशर्मेणः
पौत्राय वत्ससगोत्राय भार्गव-
- 49 च्यवन-आप्नुवतश्रीर्व-जामदग्न्यप्रवरस्य वनमालिदेवशर्मेणः पुत्राय वत्ससगोत्राय
भार्गवच्यवनआप्नुवत-
- 50 श्रीर्व-जामदग्न्यप्रवराय यातिपाटकाय⁴ श्रीविश्वरूपदेवशर्मेणे ब्राह्मणाय विधिव-
दुत्सृज्य सदाशिवसुद्रया⁵ सु-
- 51 द्रयित्वा भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन चतुर्दश्याब्दीयभाद्रदिना⁶ ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो-
ऽस्माभिः । यत्र चतुःसीमावच्छि-
- 52 न्न सां शासनभूहि ६२७ तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे
नरकपातभ-
- 53 यात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् । भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥
‘आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वल्गाय-
- 54 न्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ [21 *]
‘भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ
- 55 तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [22 *] ‘बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

¹ This portion is not read by Vasu. The first numeral sign is not legible. But the signs for 2 and 7 are legible enough. ² Vasu reads *trimsati*.

³ Vasu restores it as *śrutipāṭhakāya* evidently on the basis of the reading in the Edilpur plate. But the correct restoration is probably *nītipāṭhakāya*.

⁴ Vasu reads *śrī-Sadāśiva*. But the syllable *śrī* does not occur in the original.

⁵ Read *Bhādradine*. Read *chaturddasābdīya*.

⁶ VV. 23—25, metre : Anuṣṭubh.

- 56 तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [23 *] षष्टिवषसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ताच तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [24 *] स्वद-
 57 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरत वसुन्धराम् । स विष्ठायां क्षमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥
 [25 *]¹ इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलो-
 58 लां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्ध्वा नहि पुरुषैः
 परकौत्सयो विलोप्याः ॥ [26 *]² सचिव-
 59 शतमौलिलालितपदाम्बुजस्यानुशासने दूतः । औकोपिविष्णुरभवत् गौडमहासाम्बि-
 विग्रहिकः ॥ [27 *] श्रीमन्महा
 60 सा करणनि ॥ श्रीमहामहत्तक करणनि । श्रीमत् करणनि ॥ सं १४ आश्विनदिने १

TRANSLATION.

[For verses 1-13 see above pp. 126-27].

(Verse 14). From this couple was born, as Kārttikeya from Śiva and Pārvatī, Viśvarūpasena, the crest-jewel of his adversaries.

[For verses 15-20, ll. 31-37 and ll. 38-41 see above pp. 128-29].

(L. 38). The *Parameśvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, 'devout worshipper of the Sun,' *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Arirāja-Vṛishabhāṅka-Saṅkara*, lord of Gauḍa, the illustrious Viśvarūpasena orders :

(Ll. 41-51). Be it known to you that the village of Piñjokāśṭī, in the Vikramapura section of Vaṅga, within the Paundra-vardhana-bhukti, divided in two plots and yielding an (annual) income of six-hundred and twenty-seven *purāṇas*, viz. (1) land in the Piñjokāśṭī village having the following four boundaries : to the east, the embankment³ of the village of Aṭhapāga, to the south, the village of Bāraipadā, to the west, the village of Uñchokāśṭī and to the north, the embankment of the village of Virakāṭṭi
*Kandarpaśaṅkara*⁴ of which the total income is 500 including 132 on account of and (2) in the land of *Kandarpaśaṅkara* of which the income is 127 (?)⁵ Thus the village of Piñjoṭhā having the aforesaid four boundaries, together with land and water, forests and branches, barren land, betelnut and cocoanut trees, and even grass and *pūti* plant is granted by Us,

¹ Metre : Mālinī.

² Metre : Āryā.

³ The word *jaṅghāla* probably denotes the same as modern Bengali *jaṅgāl* e.g. *Bhimer jaṅgāl* (near Mahāsthān in Bogra District, North Bengal).

⁴ This word seems to be the same as *Madanaśaṅkara* i.e. Lakshmanasena, and may refer to some land which was either called after his name or was his personal property. This portion of the text being extremely corrupt and full of scribal mistakes it is difficult to say what is actually intended.

⁵ In the published facsimile I can read only '27,' although '127' must have been in the original draft ; because 627 is the total income from the two plots (l. 52), and 500, from one of them (l. 44).

with a view to acquire the fruits of landgrant as enumerated in the *Śivapurāṇa*, to the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpadevaśarmman, a reciter of moral texts¹, belonging to the Vātsya *gotra* and Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva-Jāmadagnya *pravaras*, great-grandson of Parāsaradevaśarmman, of the Vātsya *gotra* and Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva-Jāmadagnya *pravaras*, grandson of Garbbheśvaradevaśarmman, of the Vātsya *gotra* and Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva-Jāmadagnya *pravaras* and son of Vanamālidevaśarmman, of the Vātsya *gotra* and Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva-Jāmadagnya *pravaras*, according to the principle of *bhūmichchhidra*, having duly consecrated the gift and affixing the Sadāśiva-seal to the copper-plate charter, on the.....day of Bhādra of the fourteenth regnal year.²

(Ll. 51-2). The village of the deed, having the four boundaries yields a total income of 627 (*purāṇas*).

(Here follow six of the customary verses).

(Verse 27). The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Gauḍa, Kōpi-Vishṇu was the *dūta*, in this charter of the king whose lotus-feet are caressed by the heads of a hundred ministers.

(Ll. 59-60). Passed by the clerk of the illustrious *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*,³ by the clerk of the *Mahāmahattaka* and by the clerk of the illustrious one (the king?).

(L. 60). The year 14, the 1st day of Āśvina.⁴

¹ The word is probably *nītipāṭhaka*.

² The day of the month is not specified, unless the ā stroke after *dina* is taken to be intended for the numeral sign '1'.

³ In the original the word is given in abbreviated form as *mahāsām*.

⁴ This is probably the date of the execution of the document.

XV. CALCUTTA SĀHITYA-PARISHAT COPPER-PLATE OF VIŚVARŪPASENA.

This copper-plate was discovered in 1925, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dacca town, and came into the possession of the Rāj family of Susang who presented it to the Calcutta Sāhitya-Parishat. The inscription, which the copper-plate bears, has been edited by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 1 (March 1926), pp. 77-86, and Plates. I re-edit it from the original and a set of inked estampages, with the kind permission of the Executive Committee of the Sāhitya Parishat.

This is a **single plate**, inscribed on both sides, now measuring 10" in length by $12\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The plate has suffered from cleavage at the bottom and in consequence the last few lines of writing on either side have disappeared. At present there are only 34 lines on the obverse and 36 on the reverse. The seal of Sadāśiva, which was affixed to it (see l. 67), is missing.

The **characters** represent a more developed stage of the alphabet, compared to those employed in the copper-plates of Vallālasena and Lakshmaṇasena. The only point that may be noted here is that a clear distinction is made between the forms of the letters *va* and *ra*, the former being shown by the Nāgarī sign and the latter by the sign current to-day in Bengal.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Leaving the introductory formula *om om namo Nārāyaṇāya* in line 1, the text is in verse upto the end of line 34. The subsequent portion of the record, from line 35 to 69, is in prose, being followed again by verses, which due to the aforesaid break, abruptly terminate in line 70. The verses, which are twenty-four in number, exhibit a variety of metres *viz.* Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Pṛithvī, Sragdharā, Pushpitāgrā, Āryā and Anuṣṭubh. Verse 8 does not occur in the Edilpur or Madanapādā grant. In the prose portion of the document, which gives a description of the land, there are frequently employed abbreviations some of which are not intelligible at all. There are also instances where the writer shows utter disregard of Sanskrit grammar *e.g.* *mīlivalitā* for *militvā* (l. 46). And often he employs non-Sanskrit words, *e.g.* *baraja* (l. 45), probably denoting 'betel-leaf plantation' in which sense this word is used in Bengal and *paṭṭolī* (ll. 52, 55) probably used in the sense of *paṭṭolikā* 'title-deed' (cf. *pāṭṭā* of modern Bengali). These **circums-**

tances, as also the imperfect engraving of several of the letters, have made the decipherment and interpretation of this portion of the record particularly difficult. It is after a prolonged study, in the course of which I had to amend considerably M.M. Sastri's readings, that I have been able to give a translation (*vide* Appendix 8), leaving out one or two passages which are still unintelligible.

Like the Madanapādā grant the present record belongs to the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhattachāraka*, 'the devout worshipper of the sun,' *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Arirājavarishabhāṅka-Saṅkara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa,' **Viśvarūpasena** of the Sena family, 'who meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-Madana-Saṅkara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa,' **Lakshmaṇasena**, 'who again meditated on the feet of' the *Arirāja-niḥsaṅka-Saṅkara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa,' **Vallālasena** (ll. 35-38). The historical information contained in the first fourteen verses is practically the same as in the two previous copper-plates (*vide* p. 120). Some six lines are cut away after l. 34, containing a part of v. 22, the names of Vallālasena's predecessor on the throne and the place of issue of the grant. In verse 15, the name of the queen of Lakshmaṇasena is given as '**Tyaṣṭaṇadevī**' (read by M. M. Sastri as '**Taṭṭaṇadevī**'). In the Madanapādā grant the same lady is called **Tāḍādevī** according to my reading.

The grant consisted of land measuring $336\frac{1}{2}$ *unmānas*, which yielded an (annual) income of 500 *purāṇas* (ll. 59, 68). The donee was a Brāhmaṇa, the *Āvallika-paṇḍita* Halāyudhaśarmman, belonging to the Vātsya gotra and the five *pravaras*, Aurvva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Yāmadagnya and Āpnuvat, a student of a portion of the Kāṇva section of the Yajurveda, son of Adhyayadevaśarmman, grandson of Devadharadevaśarmman and great-grandson of Lakshmidharadevaśarmman (ll. 61-64). The land consisted of eleven plots, viz. (1-2) two plots in the **Rāmāsiddhi-pāṭaka** in the **Nāvya** region of Vaṅga in the **Paunḍravardhanabhukti**, measuring $67\frac{3}{4}$ *udānas* (= *unmānas*) and yielding 100 (*purāṇas*) of which $19\frac{11}{16}$ was the income from seven *barajas* given away on the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti day of the 13th regnal year; (3) 25 *udānas* yielding 60, in the village of **Vinayatilaka** in the same Nāvya region; (4) 165 *udānas* yielding 140, in **Ajikulāpāṭaka** which lay in **Navasaṁgraha-chaturaka** included in **Madhukshīraka-ārṇṇiti**, (previously) purchased by Halāyudha; (5) 25 *udānas*, yielding 50 in **Deūlahastī** in **Lāuhaṇḍā-chaturaka** in **Vikramapura**, the last three plots, i.e. Nos. 3, 4 and 5, yielding 250 in all,

¹ The verses in this plate are as follows : 1-7=E(dilpur) and (Madanapada), 1-7 ; 8 is new ; 9-12=E and M, 8-11 ; 13=E, 12 ; 14-16=E, 13-15 and M, 12-14 ; 17=E, 16 ; 18=E, 17 and M, 15 ; 19-20=E, 18-19 ; 21-22=E, 20-21, and M, 16-17. Probably three verses are cut away from the end.

granted on the occasion of a Lunar Eclipse observed by the queen-mother ; (6 and 7) two plots in the same village of Deūlahastī measuring 10 *udānas* and yielding 25, (previously) purchased by Halāyudha, and (subsequently) presented to him by Kumāra Sūryyasena on the latter's birth-day ; (8 and 9) two more plots in the same village of Deūlahastī measuring 7 *udānas*, yielding 25, purchased by Halāyudha and subsequently presented to him by the minister (*Sāndhivigrahika*) Nāñisimha ; (10) $12\frac{3}{4}$ *udānas* yielding 50, in Ghāgharakāṭṭi-pātaka in Urā-chaturaka which lay in ?ndradvīpa, purchased by Halāyudha from the Court Paṇḍit (Rājapaṇḍita) Maheśvara ; and (11) 24 *udānas* yielding 50 in Pātilādivika which lay in ?ndradvīpa—given away by Kumāra Purushottamasena on the *Utthānadvādaśī* day in the 14th regnal year. This detailed description (ll. 41-64) is followed by a summary of the yield (ll. 65-67). From ll. 67-68 we learn that the land as a whole was conferred on the donee by means of the present charter on which was placed the Royal seal of Sadāśiva, the intention evidently being to ratify all the previous transactions. The subsequent lines, which probably contained the customary verses, the date of the document and the name of the *dūta*, are cut away. From the mention of 'the *Utthānadvādaśī* day of the 14th regnal year' in ll. 57-58 we can infer that the date must have been later than that of the Madanapādā grant which was issued in the month of Āśvina of the same regnal year (the *Utthānadvādaśī* day falling in Kārttika).

An interesting information is derived from l. 47, namely, that the Sea (*samudra*), evidently the Bay of Bengal, formed the eastern limit of the Paundravardhana-bhukti.

TEXT.

Obverse.

ॐ¹ ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥

- 1 श्वन्देऽरविन्दवनबान्धवमन्धकारकारानिवद्धभुवनत्रयमुक्तिहेतुम् । पर्यायविस्तृत-
सितासितप-
- 2 क्षयुग्ममुद्यान्तमद्भुतखगं निगमदुमस्य ॥ [1 *] ³पर्थस्तस्फटिकाचलां वसुमतीं
विश्वग्विमुद्रीभवन्-मुक्ताकुड्मलमब्धिमस्वरनदीवन्या-
- 3 वनष्टं नभः । उद्भिन्नस्मितमञ्जरोपरिचिता दिक्-कामिनीः कल्पयन् प्रत्युन्मीलतु
पुष्पसायकयशो जन्मान्तरं चन्द्रमाः ॥ [2 *] ⁴एतस्मा-
- 4 त् क्षितिभारनिःसहशिरोदर्वीकरग्रामणी-विश्रामोत्सवदानदीक्षितभुजास्ते भूभुजो
जज्ञिरे । येषामप्रतिमल्लविक्रमक-
- 5 थारब्धप्रबन्धाद्भुतव्याख्यानन्दविनिद्रसान्द्रपुलकैर्व्याप्ता सदस्यैर्हिंसः ॥ [3 *] ⁵अवातर-
दधान्वये महति तत्र देवः स्वयं सुधा-
- 6 किरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्यया । यदङ्घ्रिनखधोरणिस्फुरितमौलयः क्षामभुजो
दशास्यनतिविश्रमं विदधिरे
- 7 किलैकैकशः ॥ [4 *] ⁶नीलाम्बोरुहसोदरोपि दलयन्मर्माणि कादम्बिनौकान्तोपि
ज्वलयन्-मनांसि मधुपस्त्रिंशोपि तन्वन्-भय-
- 8 म् । निस्त्रिंक्ताञ्जनसन्निभोपि जनयन्नेतत्तमं वैरिणां यस्याशेषजनाद्भुताय समरे कौन्तेयकः
खेलति ॥ [5 *] ⁷द्वैषन्निस्त्रिंश-
- 9 निद्राविरहविलसितैर्वैरिभूपालवश्यानुच्छिद्योच्छिद्य मूलावधि भुवमखिलां शासतो
यस्य राक्षः । आसीत्तेजोजिगीषा स-
- 10 ह दिवसकरेणैव दोष्णस्तुलाभूङ्गत्तैवाशीविषाणामजनि दिग्धिपैरेव
सीमाविवादः ॥ [6] ⁸खेलत्खड्गलतापमार्जन-
- 11 हतप्रत्यर्थिदर्पज्वरस्तस्मादप्रतिमल्लकीर्त्तिरभवद्बल्लालसेनो नृपः । यस्यायोधनसीञ्जि
शोणितसरिदुःसञ्चरायां
- 12 हताः संसक्तद्विपदन्तदण्डशिविकामारोप्य वैरिभ्यः ॥ [7 *] ⁹यस्याग्रसैन्य-
चलितेभघटासहस्रसम्पातनिर्हलितपक्ष-

¹ Expressed by symbol.² Metre : Vasantatilaka.³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre : Prithvī.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metre : Sragdharā. The reading is not *bhāsan*, as given by R. D. Banerji and H. P. Sastri, but *ishan* as given by N. N. Vasu.⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre : Vasantatilaka.

- 13 परम्पराणाम् । भूमीभुजां भुवमतित्यजतां बभूवुः पाथोधितोरविधुराणि
विलोकितानि ॥ [8 *] ¹श्रीकान्तोपि न मायया वलि-
- 14 जयी वागौश्वरोप्यचरं वक्तुं नेत्यपटुः कलानिधिरपि प्रोन्मुक्तदोषाग्रहः । भोगीन्द्रो पि
न जिह्वगैः परिहृतस्त्रै-
- 15 लोक्यरेखाङ्गुत स्तस्मात्तत्त्वस्मृतिभूपतिरभूद्भूलोक-कल्पद्रुमः ॥ [9 *] ¹प्रत्युषे
निगडस्वनैर्नियमितप्रत्यर्थिभूमीभु-
- 16 जां मध्याङ्गे जलपानमुक्तकरटिप्रोदुगालवण्टारवैः । सायं वेशविलासिनीजनरणम्भञ्जोर-
मञ्जुस्वनैर्येनाकारि
- 17 विभिन्नशब्दघटनावस्थं त्रिसन्ध्यं नभः ॥ [10 *] ¹पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना
सन्त्यज्य मुक्तिग्रहं नूनन्तेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनी-
- 18 तीरे हरः प्रीणितः । एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवेधव्यवहृतो विख्यातचित्तिपाल-
मौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो-
- 19 नृपः ॥ [11 *] ²न गगनतल एव शीतरश्मिर्नकनकभूधर एव कल्पशाखी । न
विवुधपुर एव देवराजो विलसति यत्र धरा-
- 20 वतारभाजि ॥ [12 *] ¹वाङ् वारणहस्तकाण्डसदृशौ वक्षः शिलासंहतं वाणाः
प्राणहरा द्विषां मदजलप्रस्यन्दिनो दन्तिनः । यस्यै-
- 21 तां समराङ्गणप्रणयिनीं कृत्वा स्थितिं वेधसा को जानाति कुतः कृतो न वसुधाचक्रे
ऽनुरूपो रिपुः ॥ [13 *] ³वेलायां दक्षि-
- 22 णाव्येर्मुषलधरगदापाणिसंवासवेद्यो जेत्ने विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसिवरणाश्लेषगङ्गोर्मि-
भाजि । तौरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः
- 32 कमलभवमखारम्भनिर्व्विगाजपूते येनोद्देर्यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस्तम्भमाला
न्यधायि ॥ [14 *] ¹यां निर्माय पवित्रपाणि-
- 24 भवद्देधाः सतीनां शिखारत्नं या किमपि स्वरूपचरितैर्विश्वं ययालङ्कृतम् । लक्ष्मी-
भूरपि वाञ्छितानि विदधे यस्याः
- 25 सपत्न्यो ह्यं श्रीमत्ताष्टादेव्यमुष्णमहिषी साभूत्त्रिवर्गोचिता ॥ [15 *] ⁴एताभ्यां
शशिशेखरगिरिजाभ्यामिव बभूव शक्तिधरः । श्री-

¹ Meter : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Metre : Pushpitāgrā.³ Metre : Śragdharā.⁴ Metre : Āryā. According to H. P. Sastri (*op. cit.*, p. 78) the metre of this stanza occurring in the two other grants is faulty. Cf. above p. 123, v. 15.

- 26 विश्वरूपसेनः प्रतिभटभूपालमुकुटमणिः ॥ [16 *] ¹दृष्टिस्पर्शमवाप्य विश्व-
जयिनो यस्य द्विजानां ²पयःपाक्षैर्लोहमयैर्हिरण्यपद-
27 वी प्राप्तेति को विस्मयः । एतस्मिन्नियम(१)ज्ञताय महति³ प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभुजां यत्
पात्राणि हि[र]ण्यमान्यपि पुनर्यातान्ययोवार्णता-
28 म् ॥ [17 *] ¹आकौमारमपारसङ्गरभरव्यापारवृणावशस्वान्तस्यास्य निशम्य वीरपति-
षडन्यस्य दोर्विक्रमम् । नेदं नेदमिदञ्च नेति चकितै-
29 र्दुर्गां प्रविश्य द्रुतं निर्गच्छद्भिररातिभूपनिवहैर्भ्रातृभ्यश्चिरेवास्यते ॥ [18 *] ¹आकर्णञ्च-
लमेलकारविशिखक्षेपैः समाजे द्विषां दानाश्वः-
30 कणगवर्भदव्भंकलनैर्गोष्ठौषु निष्ठावताम् । नीवीबन्धविसारणैः परिषदि तस्यत्कुरङ्गी-
दृशामव्यापारसुखासितां क्षणमपि
31 प्राप्नोति नैतत्करः ॥ [19 *] ¹तापिच्छैः परिशीलितेव सरितां कच्छस्यलोनौरदैर्नी-
रन्ध्रेव नभस्तटीमरकतैः क्लृप्ता भुवः क्ष्मारुहः । नी-
32 लग्रावकदम्बकैरविरलाभोगेव वेलावलीलेखासीददसीययज्ञहुतभुग्धूमे
मुहुर्मूर्च्छति⁴ ॥ [20 *] ¹कल्पक्ष्मारुहकाननानि कनकक्ष्माभ-
33 द्विभागान्निधिं रत्नानां पुलिनान्तराणि च परिस्त्रम्य प्रयासात्तसाः । एतत्पादपयोधर-
प्रणयिनिच्छायावितानाञ्चले विश्राम्यन्ति स-
34 तामनिद्रविदशोद्भ्रान्ता मनोवृत्तयः ॥ [21 *] ⁵किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुलितलोक-
पालावलीवल्लोकितविशृङ्खलप्रधनजैत्रयात्रा-⁶... [22 *]

Reverse.

- 35 समस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत-अरिराजनिःशङ्कशङ्कर-गौड़ेश्वर श्रीमहलालसेनदेवपादानु-
ध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत-अरिराज-मदनशङ्क-
36 र-गौड़ेश्वर-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेत-अश्वपति-
गजपति-नरपति-राजत्रयाधिपति-सेन-
37 कुलकमलविकासभास्कर-सोमवंशप्रदोप-प्रतिपन्नकर्ण-सत्यव्रतगाङ्गेय-स(श)रणागतवज्र-
पञ्जर-परमेश्वर-परमभ-
38 द्वारक-परमसौर-महाराजाधिराज-अरिराज-वृषभ(१)ङ्कशङ्कर-गौड़ेश्वर-श्रीविश्वरूप-
सेनदेवपादा विजयिनः । समु-

¹ Metre : Śardūlavikrīḍita.

² Śāstri reads *chayak* for *payak*.

³ The Edilpur plate has *etasmīn=nrīpatāu pratāpa-mahati*.

⁴ The Edilpur plate has *dhumāvālī khelati*.

⁵ Metre : Prithvī.

⁶ For the remaining portion of this verse which is missing see above p. 123, v. 21.

- 39 पंगताशेषराज-राजन्यक-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-महापुरोहित-महा-
धर्माध्यक्ष-महासाम्भिविग्रहिक-म
- 40 हासेनापति-दौःसाधिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-नौवलहस्यश्व-गोमहिषाजाविकादिव्यापृत-
गौल्लिक-दण्डपाशिक-विषयपत्यादीनन्यांश्च सक-
- 41 लराजपादोपजीविनो अध्यक्षप्रवरान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्
यथाहं मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति समादिशन्ति च विदि-
- 42 तमस्तु भवतां यथा प्रौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-वङ्गे नाव्ये रामसिद्धिपाटके^{1a}
वराहकुण्डदक्षिणपश्चिमे पूर्व देवहारदेवभोगसीमा द-
- 43 क्षिणे वाङ्गालवङ्गाभूः सीमा पश्चिमे नदी सीमा उत्तरे तथा नदी सीमा एवं
चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नवास्तुभूम्युदान ३४॥ तथा देवहा-
- 44 रपूर्वे टा¹ ४ व्याभू उ ४। वास्तु उपति² १॥ तथा नाल भू उ २६॥ देवहारउत्तरे
नालभू उ २ नाल उपति² १॥ एवं
- 45 सवास्तुभू उदान ६७॥ ग्रामपत्या¹ सां³हि ८०॥ तथैतदग्रामे वारनाकोलोक्त-
गाजीकादीनां¹ नूतनवरजचतुष्टयसमेत वारश्रे-
- 46 मनो उदयिता¹ परलोक्तकानां¹ वरजत्रयसंवलित सांहि १८॥ मिलिवलिता का⁴ २
ख⁵ ७ हाभ्यां त्रयोदशाब्दीय उत्तरायणमहासंक्र-
- 47 मणसम्बन्धेन समुत्सरिर्गतभू सं सां⁵हि १०० तथा नाव्ये विनयतिलकग्रामे पूर्व
समुद्रसीमा दक्षिणे प्रनुक्तीभूः सीमा पश्चिमे जङ्गा-
- 48 लसीमा उत्तरे शासनसीमा एवं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नसवास्तुभू उदान २५ नानापत्या¹
सांहि ६० तथा मधुक्षीरकावृत्तौ नवसंग्रह-च
- 49 तुरके अजिकुलापाटके यथाप्रसिद्धस्वसीमावच्छिन्नशैवसाकिरितो¹ मैतो¹ उच्छी-
कादीनां अनेनैवावल्लिकपंहलायुधेन क्री-
- 50 तपट्टोलोसं सवास्तुभूम्युदान १६५ नानापत्या उच्छन्नत्वात् सांहि १०० तथैतद्वास्तु-
भूमौ कलन¹ संसा गुवाकशत ३० एत-
- 51 कूत्थं हि ४० हा⁶ सांहि १४० तथा विक्रमपुरभागे लाउहगुडा-चतुरके
देजलहस्त्यां नदीपूर्वपश्चिमे राजहिता स एव वार

¹ Obscure meaning.^{1a} Śāstri reads *Sāmasiddhi*.² Śāstri reads *udāti*.³ Does it stand for *sākalyena* ('in all')?⁴ Does it stand for *kāka* which is a land measure?⁵ Probably it stands for *sarvasākalyena*, i.e. (in Bengali Sanskrit?) 'in all.'⁶ I. E. *dvābhyām*.

- 52 आरखे(?) कामापिण्डनागादीनां अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टोलोसं सवास्तुभूम्युदान २५ सां हि
५० त्रिभिः माटचरणा-नाम् दृष्टेन
- 53 सोमग्रासे समुत्सर्गितभूसम्बन्धेन गुवाकमूल्यसमेत सां हि २५० तथैतद्ग्रामे
वारवृद्धअमृतोकयोः अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टो-
- 54 लोसं वर्षवृद्धौ कुमारश्रीसूर्यसेनप्रदत्त नालभू उ ७ गुवाकवास्तुभू उ ३ हा स
वा भू उ १० सां हि २५ तथा तथैतद्ग्रामे
- 55 मे वारकलो-अमृतोकयोः अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टोलोसं सांभिविग्रहिकनाजीसिंह-
प्रदत्त नालभू उ ३ गुवाकवास्तुभू उ ४ हा सवास्तु-
- 56 भू उ ७ सां हि २५ हा सां हि ५० तथा क(?)न्द्रद्वीपे उराचतुरके जयजाहडा-
पूर्वं घाचरकाट्टी-पाटके राजपंमहेश्वरस्य अनेनैवाव-
- 57 क्लिकपंहलायुधेन क्रीतशासनं सवास्तुभू उदान १२॥ सां हि ५० तथा क(?)न्द्रद्वीपे
पातिलादिवीके कुमारश्रीपुरुषोत्तम-
- 58 सेनभुज्यमानायग(?) अनेनैव चतुर्दशाब्दीय-उत्थानद्वादश्यां समुत्सर्गितभूसम्बन्धेन
दत्त सवास्तुभूम्युदान २४ सां हि ५० मि-
- 59 लित्वा [सार्धे]षट्(f)लंशदुन्मानाधिकशतत्रयोदानात्मककललगुवाकमूल्यवरजायसमेत
सां चूर्णा पञ्चशतिकभूमिः सजलस्थला स-
- 60 भाटविटपा सगर्तोषरा सखिलनाला सगुवाकनारिकेला अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशा आचन्द्रार्क-
क्षितिसमकालं यावत् देवकुलपुष्करि-
- 61 ण्यादिकं कारयित्वा गुवाकनारिकेलादिकं लगावयित्वा पुत्रपौत्रादिसन्ततिक्रमेण
स्वच्छन्दोपभोगेनोपभोक्तुं वात्स्यसगोत्रस्य श्रीर्व-
- 62 च्यवन-भार्गव-यामदग्न्य-आप्नुवत्-पञ्चप्रवरस्य यजुर्वेदान्तर्गतकाण्वशाखैकदेशाध्यायिनो
लक्ष्मीधरदेवशर्माणः प्रपौत्राय तथा दे-
- 63 वधरदेवशर्माणः^३ पौत्राय तथा अथ्ययदेवशर्माणः पुत्राय वात्स्यसगोत्राय श्रीर्व-च्यवन-
भार्गव-यामदग्न्य-आप्नुवत्-पञ्चप्रवराय यजु-
- 64 वेदान्तर्गतकाण्वशाखैकदेशाध्यायिने आवल्लिकपञ्चश्रीहलायुधशर्माणे ब्राह्मणाय नाव्ये(?)
महाउत्तरायणमहासंक्रमणे...संसा

¹ Sāstri reads Sadāsena. There is a sign of erasure at the last letter.

² Sāstri reads Dombarakāṭṭi.

³ Sāstri wrongly reads Vedadhara.

- 65 भू हि १०० नाव्यमधुक्षीरकवङ्ग-भागेषु मातृचरणा-नाम् दृष्टेन सोमयासे
दत्त संसा भू हि २५० विक्रमपुरभागे वर्षवृद्धौ कु-
- 66 मारश्री-सूर्यसेन-¹प्रदत्त संसा भू हि २५ तथा हि सान्धिनाजौसिंह-दत्त
संसा भूहि २५ क(?)न्द्रद्वीपे उराचतुरकी क्रीतशासन संसां भूहि ५० तथा पा-
- 67 तिलादिवीकी कुमारपुरुषोत्तमसेन-दत्त संसा भूहि ५० मिलित्वा श्रीमत्-
सदाशिवमुद्रया मुद्रयित्वा भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रद-
- 68 तोस्माभिः यत्र वरजगुवाकायसमेतताम्रशासन सां भूहि ५०० तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेव
अनुमन्तव्यम् । भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरप-
- 69 हरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् । भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः
श्लोकाः ॥ ²भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्र-
- 70 यच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ । [॥ 23 *] ²बहुभिवंसुधा दत्ता
राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

¹ Śāstri reads *Dāmārī*—*Sthairyyasinha*.

² Metre : Anushtubh.

XVI.—RĀMGANJ COPPER-PLATE OF ĪSVARAGHOSHĀ.

The existence of this copper-plate was made known by Mr. A. K. Maitra in the Bengali Journal *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXIV (1320 B.S.), pp. 35-43, pp. 172-78, pp. 275-76 and plates opposite pp. 172 and 176.¹ It is in the possession of the Māldwār Rāj family and appears to have been discovered sometime before 1833, in the vicinity of Rāmganj, in Police Station Ranisankail, District Dinajpur. The inscription, which the copper-plate bears, was deciphered for the first time by the late Pandit Bachcha Jhā of Darbhanga, whose unpublished transcript was lent by the Rāj family to the Varendra Research Society, along with the copper-plate, for the use of Mr. Maitra. In 1926 the Society obtained the copper-plate on loan for the second time, through the kindness of Raja Tankanath Chaudhuri of Māldwār and this enabled me to compare the readings of Pandit Bachcha Jhā and Mr. Maitra with the original document itself. The reproduction which follows is from a set of inked estampages prepared in the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This is a **single plate**, engraved on both sides, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ". A portion of it having broken off from a corner many letters have disappeared from the end of lines 1-9 on the obverse and the beginning of lines 27-35 on the reverse. The last four lines on each side have also suffered to some extent from a similar damage. There is no seal attached to the record, but exactly where one would expect it, the plate has a rectangular projection $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in size. Across this portion is engraved *Śrī-Parākramamūlasya*² and below it, only a single letter *ni*.³ To the right of this inscription occurs a sign representing a flag. The inscription consists of 47 lines of which twenty-two are incised on the obverse and twenty-five on the reverse. The size of letters varies between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{16}$ ".

The **characters** represent a variety of Northern alphabets which is evidently earlier than those used in the Sena copper-plates and akin to those found in the copper-plates of the Later Pālas e.g. the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I and the Āmgāchhi grant of Vīgrahapāla III.⁴ Some of the noteworthy features are: the use of nail-heads in many letters instead of the straight top-strokes, e.g. in

¹ Introduction, text, translation of vv. 1-5; and remarks.

² *I.E.* 'of Parākramamūla.' This word looks like a *biruda* and may refer to the donor or his overlord.

³ This letter *ni*, which probably stands for *nibaddha*, meaning 'assigned' or 'registered,' is frequently used in Pāla copperplates, at the beginning and end of the first line e.g. the Āmgāchhi grant of Vīgrahapāla III (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 295, n. 4). Cf. also Kielhorn, *JASB.*, 1892, part 1, p. 82, n. 14.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 324 and XV, p. 293.

kshata (l. 4); the letter *dh* without the horn e.g. in *dhānushka* (l. 18); the arrow-headed form of *r* and not the triangular one e.g. in *karmmakara* (l. 19); and the symbol for *om* (l. 1) which is open to the right, and not to the left as in Sena records.

The **language** is Sanskrit. After the formula *om svasti* the first ten lines contain five verses. Then comes the prose portion *sa khalu* etc. which runs from line 10 to line 36. Lines 36-46 again contain ten verses. The subsequent portion, in lines 46-47, which contains the date, is in prose. The verses are composed in a variety of metres viz. *Indravajrā*, *Vasantatilaka*, *Anushtubh*, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Sālinī* and *Mālinī*. As regards **orthography** it should be noted that both the letters *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign; the letters following a superscript *r* are doubled excepting *y* e.g. *bhāryā*, in l. 8; and that the *anusvāra* is invariably used in place of the final *m* e.g. in *sāmplavam*, in l. 40. The rules of euphony have not been observed in several places e.g. *mahā-ākshapāṭalika*, in l. 13 and *Yajurvedā-ādhyāyine*, in l. 31.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* **Īśvaraghosha** (ll. 10-11) whose genealogy is given in the first five stanzas: The record introduces first of all **Dhūrtaghosha** (v. 1). His son **Bālaghosha** was a warrior by profession (v. 2). **Bālaghosha**'s son was **Dhavalaghosha** (v. 3) from whose wife **Sadbhāvā** (v. 4) was born a son **Īśvaraghosha** by name (v. 5). The grant consisted of a village called **Digghāsodikā** belonging to the **Gāllitipyaka** *vishaya* of the **Piyolla maṇḍala** (ll. 11-12 and 21), and was issued by **Īśvaraghosha** from a place called **Dhekkarī** (l. 10). The customary list of officers and of others concerned is given in ll. 12-21; and the conditions of the gift are enumerated in ll. 21-28. The donee was **Bhaṭṭa-Nibbokaśarman**, who emigrated from **Chandavāra**, son of (**Bhaṭṭa**)-**Vāsudeva**, belonging to the **Bhārgava-gotra**, **Bhārgava**, **Chyāvana**, **Yamadagni**, **Aurvva** and **Āpnuvān pravaras** and a student of the *Yajurveda* (ll. 28-31). The donor made the aforesaid gift by means of a copper-plate after having bathed in the river **Jaṭodā** on the last day of the month of **Mārggaśirsha** (ll. 31, 33). Finally comes the date¹: the 1st day of **Mārggaśirsha**, the year 35 (l. 47).

The donor **Īśvaraghosha** does not possess any of the titles of a paramount sovereign. Indeed he has not even the epithet of 'a king,' although, curiously enough, he arrogates to himself the privilege of issuing orders to **Rājans**, **Rājanyakas**, **Rājñīs**, **Rānakas**, **Rājaputras** and so forth who are supposed to be under his authority. No stress can, of course, be laid on this stereotyped form

¹ The copper-plate appears to have been made ready a month in advance of the actual gift.

of the court language, found more or less in all land grants. Hence the title *Mahāmāṇḍalika* assumed by Īśvaraghosha can alone be considered to determine his real position. Mr. Maitra has brought forward two important data from the *Rāmacharita* in this connection : Firstly, Dhekkarī, whence this copper-plate was issued by Īśvaraghosha, was the seat of one of the *sāmantas* or a vassal king (of the Pālas) ; and secondly, these *sāmantas* were known as *maṇḍalādhipati*, which is the same as *māṇḍalika*. He, therefore, concludes that Īśvaraghosha, the *Mahāmāṇḍalika*, held the position of a vassal king under the suzerainty of the Pāla dynasty.¹ The name of one of the earlier vassal princes of the Pālas is now forthcoming from the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla (vv. 22-3). He is Balavarmman, the ruler of Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala (*Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍalādhipati*), who is described as 'the right-hand' person of King Devapāla.² Elsewhere too, this title of *māṇḍalika* or *mahāmāṇḍalika* is found to have been held by vassal princes and they issued land grants like Īśvaraghosha. Thus the Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta II were issued by his vassal *Māṇḍalika* Puñja,³ and the Bhadana and Kharepatan plates⁴, by the Śilāhāra chiefs, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Aparājita and *Māṇḍalika* Raṭṭarāja respectively.

The record supplies three names of topographical interest viz. Dhekkarī,⁵ the river Jaṭodā and Chandavāra. M. M. H. P. Śāstri⁶ and Mr. A. K. Maitra proposed to locate Dhekkarī and the river Jaṭodā, on which Dhekkarī was evidently situated, near Kāṭwā in the Burdwan District. But as pointed out by Mr. N. N. Vasu,⁷ both must be located in the Goalpārā and Kāmarūpa districts of Assam. The river is mentioned in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (Ch. 73), as flowing through Kāmarūpa.⁸ Chandavāra may be the same as Chandwār near Etawa in U. P., well known from Muhammadan historians.⁹

¹ It is, of course, difficult to say who was the overlord of Īśvaraghosha and whether the word *Parā-kramamūla* occurring at the top of the plate refers to him, or his vassal.

² *Monographs of the V. R. Society*, No. 1, p. 14.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 258.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 268, 293.

⁵ It is probably the same as Dhikkara, one of the Buddhist sacred places (see above p. 61).

⁶ Introduction to the *Rāmacharita*, p. 14.

⁷ *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihās*, Rājanyakāṇḍa, pp. 250-51.

⁸ In his *Geographical Dictionary* Mr. N. L. Dey refers to the river as a 'tributary of the Brahmaputra, which flows through the district of Jalpaiguri and Kuch Bihār.'—*Ind. Ant.*, 1922, Supplement, p. 81.

⁹ *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, Raverty's transl., pp. 470, 742 ; Elliot's *History of India*, vol. II, p. 297, n. 2.

TEXT.¹*Obverse.*

श्रीपराक्रममूलस्य

नि²

- 1 श्री³ स्वस्ति । व⁴भूव-गन्धिय (?) -लब्धजन्मा⁵
 ि — — — — —⁶
- 2 केतुः । श्रीधूर्त्तघोषो निशितासिधारा-नि[र्व्या]-(पिता) — — — —⁷
- 3 लेशः ॥ [1*] ⁸आसीत्ततोपि समरव्यवसायसार-[वि]— — — (कुलि)⁹
- 4 शक्तवैरिवर्गः । श्रीवालघोष इति घोषकु(ला) — — — (मार्त्त)¹⁰
- 5 गड-मण्डलमिव प्रथितः पृ[थि]व्या¹¹ ॥ [2*] ¹²तस्याभवद्वलघो(ष) — — —¹³
- 6 गडदण्डः सुतो जगति गौतमहाप्रतापः । येनेह चौरति — — —¹⁴
- 7 दिवाकरेण वज्रायितं प्रवलवैरिकुलाचलेषु ॥ [3*] ¹⁵भवानीवापरा मूर्त्या सीते(व)
 — (पति)¹⁶
- 8 व्रता । सङ्गावा नाम तस्याभूद्भार्या पद्मेव शार्ङ्गिनः ॥ [4*] ¹⁷तस्या ईश्वरघोष
 एष तनयः हे — —¹⁸
- 9 धामा जयत्येको दुर्द्धरसाहसः किमपरं कान्त्या जितेन्दुद्युतिः¹⁹ । यस्य प्रोज्झित-
 शौर्यनिर्जितरिपोः (प्री)-
- 10 द्रुप्रतापश्रुतेरास्यम्बाप्यजलप्रणालमलिनं शत्रुस्त्रियो बिभ्रति । [॥ 5*] स खलु
 टेक्करीतः । महामाण्डलि(कः)

¹ Mr. Maitra's readings are indicated by the letter 'M' and Pandit Bachcha Jhā's restorations by 'J'.² These letters are engraved on the rectangular projection at the top of the plate.³ Expressed by a symbol.⁴ Metre : Indravajrā.⁵ रादाचिपलब्धजन्मा—J. and M. This is an imaginary reading for which there are absolutely no grounds. After वभूव and before लब्ध there were 4 letters of which the second one is clearly a *ga* and the third and fourth letters look like *न्यथ*. It is impossible to make out the reading with any degree of certainty as the letters are too far worn out.⁶ तिग्मांशुषण्डो नृपवंश—J.⁷ -पितारिज्रजगर्भ—J.⁸ Metre : Indravajrā.⁹ विस्फूर्जितासिक्कुलि—J.¹⁰ कुलाज्जातमार्त्त—J.¹¹ Read पृथिव्याम्.¹² Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹³ इति प्रच—J.¹⁴ यौषतिभिरेक—J. M. reads यौष.¹⁵ Metre : Anushtubh.¹⁶ सीतेव च पतिव्रता—J.¹⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁸ सर्वांश—J. But the reading intended was probably हेमाद्रि which suits the metre as well.¹⁹ जितेन्द्रद्युतिः —M.

विष्णुः स्वयम्भुवः

वि

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

- 2 कुरुः शिव इत्याद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
4 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
6 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
8 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
10 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
12 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
14 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
16 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
18 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
20 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना
22 त्रिगुणाद्यानिदिनाशिवानिदिना

- 11 श्रीमदीश्वरघोषः कुशली । पियोल्लमण्डलान्तःपाति¹-गास्त्रिटिप्यक-विषयसम्भोग-
दिग्घासोदि-
- 12 काग्रामे समुपगताशेषराज । राजन्यक । राज्ञी । राणक । राजपुत्रकुमारामात्य ।
महासाम्भिविग्र-
- 13 हिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाकरणाध्यक्ष-महासुद्राधिकृत-²महाआक्षपटलिक-
महासर्वाधिकृत³]-
- 14 महासेनापति-महापादमूलिक-महाभोगपति-महातन्त्राधिकृत-महाव्यूहपति-
महादण्डनाय-
- 15 क-महाकायस्थ-महाबलाकोष्ठिक-महाबलाधिकरणिक-महासामन्त-महाकटुक³-
ठकुर-अङ्गिकर-
- 16 णिक-दाण्डपाणिक-कोट्टपति-हट्टपति-भुक्तिपति-विषयपति-श्रौत्थितासनिक⁴-
अन्तःप्रतीहार-द(ण्ड)-
- 17 पाल-खण्डपाल-दुःसाध्यसाधनिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-उपरिक-तदानियुक्तक-आभ्यन्तरिक-
वासाग [१]-
- 18 रिक-खड्गग्राह-शिरोरक्षिक-वृद्धधानुष्क-एकसरक-खोल-दूत गमागमिक-लेख[क]-
दू [तप्रे]-
- 19 षणिक⁵-पानीयागारिक-सान्तकिक-कर्मकर-गौल्लिक-शौल्लिक-हस्त्यखोट-नौवल-
व्यापृतक-[गो]-
- 20 महिष्यजाविक-वड्वाध्यक्षादि-सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽन्यांश्च चाटभटजातीयान्
स(कर)-
- 21 शब्राह्मणमाननापूर्वकं⁶ मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च विदितमतमस्तु भवतां
ग्रा[मो]-
- 22 यं चतुःसोमापर्यन्तः स्वसम्भोगसमेतः सजलस्थलः सोद्देशः सगर्तोषरः सा[स्त्र](मधु)-

¹ पिपील्ल—M.² Read महाक्षपटलिक³ महाकटुक—M.⁴ श्रौत्थितासनिक—J; ऐन्थितासनिक—M. In *JBORS.*, 1919, p. 588, n. 1, Mr. R. D. Banerji suggests the correct reading given above and reads the title महौत्थितासनिक in the Panchobh plate of Samgrāmagupta. Cf. also Lucknow Museum plate of Kirttipāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 97, n. 7) in which evidently the same term occurs in line 38.⁵ The last four letters were not read by M.⁶ M. rightly compares सकरणान् प्रतिवादिनः चैवकरांश्च ब्राह्मणमाननापूर्वकं of the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 250) and reads करण instead of चरण as read by J. Cf. also the Parikuḍ plates of Madhyamarāja (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 286). Mr. Banerji reads in line 42 of the plates सकार(क)णं ब्राह्मणपुरोगादिजनपदान् ; but the facsimile shows the reading करणब्राह्मण etc.

Reverse.¹

- 23 कः सगोकुलः स[शाह]ल-
 24 विटपलतान्वितः सहृदय-
 25 दृः² सतरुः राजकुलाभाव्य³-(?)
 26 डारिकादि-समस्तचिति-
 27⁴:परिहृतसर्वपीडः अवाटभटप्रवेशः अकिञ्चित् करप्रया-
 28 (ह्यः).....⁴(आ)चन्द्रार्कतारकचितिसमकालं यावत् । चन्द्रवारविन(नि)र्गताय⁵ भट्ट-
 29⁴श्रीवासुदेवपुत्राय भट्टश्रीनिष्कशर्माणे । भार्गवसगोत्राय
 30⁶(य)मदग्नि-श्रीर्व्यश्राप्नुवानप्रवराय आप्नुवानश्रीर्व्यश्रामदग्निचवनभा-
 31 (र्गव).....⁴यजुर्वेदा अध्यायिने⁷ मार्गसंक्रान्तौ जटोदायां स्नात्वा तिलदर्भपवित्र-
 32 ...[दक]-पूर्वकं⁸ भगवन्तं शङ्करभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
 33 (ताम्न)शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः अतः प्रतिपालने महाफलदर्शनात् अपहरणे म-
 34 (हानर)[क]पतनभयात् सर्वैरेव दानमिदमनुमन्तव्यं प्रतिवासिभिः क्षेत्रकरैश्च आज्ञा-
 अवणविधे-
 35 (यी)भूय यथादीयमानकरादिसमस्तप्रत्यायोपनयः कार्यं इति । भवन्ति चात्र
 धर्मानुसंसि-
 36 नः⁹श्लोकाः । ¹⁰वहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा-
 37 फलं¹¹ ॥ [6*] ¹²भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ
 नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [7*]
 38 सर्वेषामेव दानानां एकजन्मानुगं फलं [1*] हाटकचितिगौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुगं
 फलं¹³ ॥ [8*] षष्ठिं
 39 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं¹⁴
 वसेत् ॥ [9*] गा-

¹ This portion is not marked out separately in M's text.² जक्त्यभाव्य—M.³ The first four letters are not read by M.⁴ Lacuna not indicated by M. Restore भार्गव-चवन-⁵ Lacuna not shown by M. Evidently the missing word is उदरु ; but there was probably another word before it.⁶ Read शंसिनः¹⁰ Metre : Anushtubh.¹² Metre of vv. 7-13 : Anushtubh.² पट्ट :—M.⁴ Lacuna not indicated by M.⁷ Read यजुर्वेदाध्यायिने¹¹ Read फलम्¹³ Read फलम्¹⁴ Read नरके

- 40 मेकां सुवर्षं मेकं भूमेरप्येकमङ्गलं [१*] हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाहृतिसंज्ञवं^१ ॥ [10*]
अन्यदत्तां
- 41 द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नादक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महौभुजां श्रेष्ठदानोच्छेयोऽनुपालनं^२ ॥ [11*]
खदत्तां प-
- 42 रदत्तां वा यो हरेदसुन्धरां^३ । स विद्यायां क्षमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [12*]
वापीकूप-स
- 43 हस्तेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥ [13*]
^४सर्वाने-
- 44 तान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्र(न्द्रा)न् भूयोभूयः प्रात्य(र्थं)यत्येष रामः [१*] सामान्योयं
धर्मसेतु नृ^५-
- 45 पाणां(नां) काले काले पालनीयः क्रमेण ॥ [14*] ^६इति कमलदलास्त्रुविन्दुलोलां
श्रियमनुचि-
- 46 (न्य म)नुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्वा नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो
विलोप्याः) ॥ [15*] इ-
- 47 (ति) सम्बत् ३५ मार्गदिने १

TRANSLATION.^६

Om. Welfare !

(Verse 1). There was born in (the family of)...Dhūrttaghoshā, who by the edge of his sharp sword.....

(Verse 2). From him was born in the Ghoshā clan, Bālaghoshā who was a military man by profession. He defeated his enemies by.....and was as much well-known in this world as the Sun himself.

(Verse 3). From him was born a son, Dhavalaghoshā.....whose glory was sung in ballads throughout the world and who proved a veritable Sun to the darkness, namely, the robbers, and a thunderbolt to his mountain-like and powerful enemies.

(Verse 4). His wife Sadbhāvā by name was a second Bhavānī (wife of Śiva) in appearance. She was as much devoted to her husband as Sītā (herself) and resembled Padmā, the wife of Viṣṇu.

^१ Read संज्ञवं^२ Read दाना-

पालनम्

^३ Read हरित वसु-^४ Metre : Mālinī.^५ In the following translation I have generally ignored Jhā and Maitra's conjectural restorations, of metrical portions which have disappeared from the plate.

(Verse 5). May her son, this *Īśvaraghosha* be victorious. In loveliness—what more to say—he defeats (even) the moonlight. He is as majestic as the Golden Mountain¹ and is unequalled for his indomitable vigour. His enemies, who were reputed far and wide for the strength of their arms, have been completely crushed by dint of his outstanding heroism; and their faces tarnished by a continuous flow of tears are held up by their wives.

(Ll. 10-21). Now, from *Dhekkarī*, the *Mahāmāṇḍalika*, the illustrious *Īśvaraghosha* being in good health, after having shown respect to the Brāhmaṇas and Karaṇas², duly honours, informs and orders all³ the *Rājans*, *Rājanyakas*, *Rājñīs*, *Rānakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahākaraṇādhyaksha*, *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*, *Mahākshapatalika*, *Mahāsarvādhikṛita*,⁴ *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāpādamūlika*, *Mahābhogapati*, *Mahātantrādhikṛita*, *Mahāvṛyūhapati*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahākāyastha*, *Mahāvalākoshṭhika*, *Mahāvalādhikaraṇika*, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahākātuka*, *Thakkura*, *Āṅgikaraṇika*, *Dāṇḍapāṇika*, *Koṭṭapati*, *Haṭṭapati*, *Bhuktipati*, *Vishayapati*, *Autthitāsanika*, *Antaḥpratīhāra*, *Daṇḍapāla*, *Khaṇḍapāla*, *Duḥsādhyaśādhanaika*, *Chauroddharaṇika*, *Uparika*, *Tadāniyuktaka*, *Ābhyantarika*, *Vāsāgārika*, *Khaḍgagrāha*, *Sīrorakshika*, *Vṛiddha-dhānushka*, *Ekasarakā*, *Khola*, *Dūta*, *Gamāgamika*, *Lekhaka*, *Dūtapraishanika*, *Pāṇīyāgārika*, *Sāntakika*, *Karmmakara*, *Gaulmika*, *Saulkika*, and all those who are dependent on His Royal Highness, viz., officers engaged over elephants, horses, camels, fleet, and those who are in charge of cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and mares, and others belonging to the class of *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*, who have assembled in the village of *Digghāsodikā* within the *Gallitipyakavishaya* of the *Piyollamaṇḍala* :

(Ll. 21-32). Be it known to you that this village, having its four boundaries, with all that belongs to it, with land and water, including its surface, along with pits and barren tracts, mango and *Bassia Latifolia* trees, cattle stations, grass, branches and creepers, markets and bathing places, trees, and all the land..... together with the income⁵ accruing to the Royal family, being free from all forced labour, unenterable by *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*, and free from all sorts of taxation, is given by Us by means of a copper-plate, after having bathed on the

¹ I.E. Mount Sumeru.

² Probably people of the Kāyastha caste.

³ With this list of officers cf. Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla and the Panchobh plate of Saṃgrāmagupta in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 247; and *JBOES.*, 1919, p. 588.

⁴ The designation *सर्वविज्ञत* occurs in the Purle plates of Indravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 362, l. 30).

⁵ The term *आमाय* meaning income occurs in Rājputānā inscriptions e.g. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 36.

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*Mārggasamkrānti*¹ day in the *Jaṭodā*, and touched sesame, *Darbha* grass and holy (water), in the name of lord Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.* Śiva), for the increase of merit and fame of myself and my parents, to last as long as the Sun, Moon, stars and the Earth endure—

(Ll. 28-31) to Bhaṭṭa-Nibbokaśarmman, an immigrant from *Chandavāra* (grandson) of Bhaṭṭa and son of (Bhaṭṭa) Vāsudeva, belonging to the *Bhārggava gotra*, (*Bhārggava*, *Chyavana*), *Yamadagnya*, *Aurvva* and *Āpnuvān pravara*s, (resembling) *Āpnuvān*, *Aurvva*, *Yamadagnya*, *Chyavana* and *Bhārggava*³ and a student of the *Yajurveda*.

(Ll. 33-36) : Therefore, this gift should be approved by all, considering that its preservation entails great merit and transgression, the risk of falling into the Great Hell. Hearing my order the dwellers and cultivators (of the land) also should regularly pay the taxes and all other dues payable by them (to the donee). There are again verses enjoining *Dharma*, in this matter.

(Here follow ten of the customary verses which are not translated).

(L. 47) : The year 35, the 1st day of *Mārggaśīrsha*.⁴

¹ *I. B.* the last day of the month of *Mārggaśīrsha*.

² For the repetition of the names of the Ṛishis in the above order for the second time, after the *pravara* of the donee is mentioned, we should compare similar passages in other grants e. g. *आङ्गिरसाम्बरोषयौवनाश्चेति युवनश्चवदम्बरोषवदाङ्गिरोवत्* etc. (Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 45, ll. 38-9) and again *आङ्गिरसाम्बरोषयौवनाश्चप्रवरः युवनश्चवदम्बरोषवदङ्गिरोवदनुप्रवरः* etc. (Patnā plates of Mahābhavagupta I, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 342). And Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 201, ll. 16-17 and n. 16.

³ *I. B.* November—December.

XVII. CHITTAGONG COPPER-PLATE OF DAMODARA.

This copper-plate was discovered by a Muhammadan in course of re-excavating a pond, at the village of Nasirabad near the Chittagong town, sometime about 1874, and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by A. L. Clay, then Officiating Collector of Chittagong. The plate appears subsequently to have been missing from the archives of the Society, and there is no mention of it in their latest List of Copper-plates¹ published in 1910.

The inscription, which the copperplate bears, was published by Prānnāth Paṇḍit of Calcutta, with the help of Paṇḍit Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLIII (1874), part 1, pp. 318-24 and pl. XVIII, and noticed by Professor Kielhorn in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 53, under No. 366. Since the original copperplate is missing and the indifferent facsimile² published by Prānnāth Paṇḍit is the only material available at present for a fresh edition of the record, it is impossible to read the entire text with absolute certainty. The only thing that can be done, therefore, is to compare his reading with the facsimile and suggest emendations or express doubts, whenever there may be room for them.

This is a **single plate** engraved on both sides and is thus described by Prānnāth Paṇḍit: "It measures about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and 7 inches in breadth, with an extreme thickness of one-eighth of an inch. It has a curvature at the top, which would seem to have been designed to serve the purpose of a handle. The extreme length from the top of the curvature is over 9 inches. In this space are delineated, on the first face the figure of a crescent surmounted by a sun, and on the second face, the figure of Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa." Not having seen the copperplate it is not possible to vouch for the correctness of this description or furnish any further details about the record. Nor can we determine how far the published facsimile correctly portrays the forms of letters in the original. The inscription consists of 41 lines of which eighteen are engraved on the obverse and twenty-three on the reverse.

The characters are evidently proto-Bengali and akin to those used in the

¹ Banerji, *J.A.S.B.*, N. S., Vol. VI (1910), p. 485 ff.

² Prānnāth Paṇḍit remarks "The left side of the second face is to a considerable extent worn away, and could not without difficulty be decyphered." (*loc. cit.*, p. 319). But the facsimile of the second face of the plate is not in keeping with this remark and shows very little sign of wear and tear. Again, many letters have extraordinary appearances, e.g., *skha* in l. 4, the first *n* in l. 5 and *su* in *Vāsudeva*, in l. 12. This shows that the facsimile is not a mechanical reproduction of the copper-plate.

Bodhgayā inscriptions dated in years 51 and 83 of the Lakshmaṇa Sena era¹ and the Gayā inscription of Govindapāla of 1175 A.D.²—The language is Sanskrit, partly prose and partly verse. With the exception of the introductory phrase *om śubham-astu* followed by the date *Śakābdāh 1165*, in line 1, and the portion describing the land granted in lines 26-34, the whole inscription is in verse. It contains altogether eleven stanzas which are in a variety of metres viz. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mandākrāntā, Vasantatilaka, Sragdharā, Upajāti, Anuṣṭubh and Mālinī. Its orthography calls for no special remarks excepting that both *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign. The *avagraha* is used but not in all cases.

The inscription opens with *om śubham=astu* together with a date, evidently the date of the transaction recorded in it, viz. the Śaka year 1165 equivalent to 1243 A.D. (l. 1). This is followed by one adulatory stanza in honour of Dāmodara, i.e., Viṣṇu, and also indirectly of the reigning king (v. 1), and another stanza proclaiming the victory of the Moon god (v. 2). In the family of the Moon flourished Puruṣhottama. His son was king (*nṛpati*) Madhusūdana whose son again was Vāsudeva (v. 3). Vāsudeva's son was Dāmodara (v. 4). The person who carried out the execution of the grant was the minister of Dāmodara (v. 6). It consisted of 5 *dronas* of land in Dāmbāraḍāma and was given away by the king by means of a copper-plate, to the Yajurvedī Brāhmaṇa Prithvīdharaśarmman according to an order conveyed through his Mahāmahattaka (v. 7). Of this land three *dronas* lay in Kāmanāpīṇḍiyāka and two *dronas* in the village of Ketāṅgapālā (v. 8). The respective boundaries of the two plots of land are next given in lines 26ff. (for details see translation). The record is concluded by three of the customary verses (vv. 9-11) which are given in ll. 34-39.

The royal dynasty, who issued this copperplate charter, is not known from any other source. Regarding the first member of this family, Puruṣhottama, no phrases are used indicating his kingly position like what is found in the case of the following three members, viz., Madhusūdana, Vāsudeva and Dāmodara. Their official seal bears the representation of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, the opening verse is addressed to him and the names of all the four persons are synonymous of 'Viṣṇu.' From these circumstances we can naturally conclude that they professed the Vaiṣṇava faith like the Varmmans and the Senas. The places mentioned in the copperplate I am unable to identify.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pls. opposite p. 28 and *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, p. 266 ff and plate with corrections in *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 43 ff.

² *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, pl. XXVIII.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ¹शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः ११६५ ॥ ²देवि प्रातरवेहि नन्दनवानन्दः कदम्बानिलो
वाति व्यस्तक-
2 रः शशीति कृतकेनालाप्य कौतूहलो । तत्काल-
3 खलदङ्गभङ्गिमचलामालिङ्ग्य लक्ष्मीं वलादालोलान-
4 नविम्बचुम्बनपरः प्रीणातु दामोदरः ॥ [1*] ³अश्वोजश्री-
5 हरणपिशुनः प्रेमभूः कैरवानां चूडारत्नं त्रिपुरज-
6 यिनः केलिकारो निशायाः । लीलागारं कुसुमधनुषो
7 बन्धुरश्वोनिधीनां श्रीमानेको जयति जगदानन्दका-
8 री मृगाङ्कः ॥ [2*] ⁴यदंशप्रभवेन्दुसुन्दरयशोनिधीतलो-
9 कतयीबन्धोः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य तनयः प्रौढप्रतापो-
10 ⁵भवत् । देवः श्रीमधुसूदनाख्यनृपतिर्येनापि सेवान-
11 मत्-भूमीपालललाटपृष्ठचरणः श्रीवासुदेवोऽजनि ॥ [3*]
12 ⁶तस्यात्मजः प्रणतराजशिरोमणिश्री.....ताङ्घ्रि-
13 नखचन्द्रमयूखमालः । प्रज्ञाप्रसाधितमहोदयितेश्वरः⁸
14 श्रीदामोदरः सकलभूपतिचक्रवर्त्ती ॥ [4*] ⁹यस्यैत[द]यश-
15 सोज्ज्वलेन भुवनं निष्कालिकं कुर्वता शत्रुस्त्रीजनलो-
16 चनाञ्जनकणासारं न तत् शेषितं । किञ्चायञ्च¹⁰विप-
17 चराजकमुखे तात्कालिकः कालिमा नीलौरागभर-
18 शिराय कलुषप्रागल्भ्यमभ्यस्यति ॥ [5*] ¹¹एतस्याजन्मयुष्यसमविजयि-

Reverse.

- 19 नः सव्यदोर्दण्डचण्डो लक्ष्मीविश्रामभूमिः प्रतिनृपतिशिरःशे-
20 खराराधिताङ्घ्रिः¹² । अश्रान्तत्यागवारिस्त्रपितवसुमतीकल्पवृक्षः
21 स एकः सर्वामात्यैकमुख्यो जयति गुणधरः¹³ शासनस्योपने-
22 ता ॥ [6*] ¹⁴सर्वामात्यशिरःशिरोषकुसुमप्रत्यर्चिताङ्घ्रिद्वयश्रीम-

¹ Expressed by symbol.⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ P. reads *kirmīriti*.⁸ P. reads *dayitaprabhū*, but as the letter after *ta* looks like *śva* I suggest the above reading.⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Reading doubtful.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ P. reads *-ottaraḥ*.¹⁰ Reading doubtful.¹³ P. reads *gunavarāḥ*.³ Metre : Mandākrāntā.⁶ Metre : Vasantatilaka.¹¹ Metre : Śragdharā.¹⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 22 हत्तमहामहत्तकमुखादेशेन ताम्रीकतां । पञ्चद्रोणभुवं हि-
 23 जाय स ददौ राजा यजुर्वेदिने श्रीपृथ्वीधरशर्मणे सुकृतिने
 24 डाम्वारडामेऽर्थिने¹ ॥ [7*] ²यथाप्रसिद्धम्परसीमया भुवो द्रो-
 25 णत्रयं कामनापीण्डयाकि³ । तथैव भूद्रोणयुगं प्रसिद्धं
 26 केतङ्गपालाभि(ध)पल्लिकायां⁴ ॥ [8*] यत्र डाम्वार(डा)मं कामनपी-
 27 ण्डियाग्रामे पूर्वे राजपथसीमा दक्षिणे लवणोत्सवाश्रम-
 28 ⁵सम्बाधावाटी सीमा पश्चिमे नन्नापाल्यभू सीमा उत्तरे मृतच-
 29 डासीमा एवं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्न सवासुनालभूद्रोण⁶ ३ तथा-
 30 केतङ्गपालाग्रामे पूर्वे लम्बशासनभूसीमा दक्षिणे नन्नापा-
 31 ल्यभूसीमा पश्चिमे गोपथसीमा उत्तरे मृतचडासीमा एवं चतुःसी-
 32 मावच्छिन्न स वा ना⁷ भूद्रो १ तथा ग्रामे वाघपोखिरा दक्षिण-
 33 पश्चिम-उत्तरे स वा ना भूद्रो १ डा⁸भू २ (ए)वं ग्रामद्वये स वा ना भू-
 34 द्रोण ५ भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥ ⁹बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता
 35 राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(म्) ॥ [9*]
 36 भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्य भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी
 37 नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [10*] ¹⁰चलदलजललोलं जीवनं यौवनन्तत् धनमिद-
 38 मनुचिन्त्याश्रान्तमेतत् कृतज्ञाः । कुरुत कुरुत चित्तं श्रेयसे पुण्यभाजं
 39 भवति हि प(र)कीर्तिः पालिता सा निजैव ॥ [11*]

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1). Om ! May there be prosperity ! The Śaka year 1165.

(Verse 1). "Oh ! goddess, know it to be morning ; the gentle breeze (carrying the fragrance) of *kadamba* flowers blows from the Nandana forest and the Moon has lost its beams." Having thus with eagerness and in an affected manner addressed her, (the god) Dāmodara forcibly embraced Lakshmī whose limbs at the time were unsteady, and who was in a helpless and disturbed condition, and he kissed the orb of her agitated face. May that Dāmodara be pleased !

(Verse 2). Triumphant be the beautiful Moon, cruel in robbing the lotus of its charm, the beloved of white lilies, the crest-jewel of the conqueror of Tripura

¹ Reading doubtful.

² P. reads *-paiṇḍiyāke*.

³ P. reads *samvāpā*, but *sambādā* seems to be intended.

⁴ Here and in two other places in line 33, P. reads *savāla*. It appears, however, to be an abbreviation for *savāstunāla* (*bhā*).

⁵ It is an abbreviation for *dvābhyām*. Cf. above p. 146, l. 51.

⁶ Metre of vv. 9-10 : Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Metre : Upendravajrā.

⁸ Read *-pallikāyām*.

⁹ P. reads *Lāla*.

¹⁰ Metre : Mālinī.

(i.e. Śiva), the husband of Night, the pleasure-house of the one who has flowers to his bow (i.e. Madana, the god of love), the friend of oceans and the unique gladdener of the world.

(Verse 3). In his family was born **Purushottama**, as handsome as the Moon and a friend of the three worlds bathed in his fame. His son was the valorous lord, king **Madhusūdana** by name. By him was begotten **Vāsudeva** whose feet were rubbed by the foreheads of princes bowing down to him in homage.

(Verse 4). His son was **Dāmodara**, the overlord of all kings. The multitude of beams of the moon-like nails of his feet flashed with the brilliance of the crest-jewels of princes bowing down to him; and he lorded over them reduced to subjection by his wisdom.

(Verse 5). Although by his bright fame he absolutely removed the blackness of the world over which was showered the collyrium particles from the eyes of the wives of his enemies, his (stock of) fame was never exhausted. What had been blackness before now turned into everlasting blue on the faces of his opposing princes, striving to establish its prominence (only) in impurity.

(Verse 6). May there be victory to that worthy framer of (this) charter, the foremost of all the ministers of this king, who since his very birth has been triumphant in calamitous warfare. He (the minister) was mighty (even) with his club-like left arm and was the abode of Fortune; his feet were held in adoration by the crowned heads of hostile kings; and he was the unique Kalpa tree on the Earth bathed in the water of (his) ceaseless donation.

(Verse 7). That king gave away in **Ḍāmbāraḍāma** 5 *dronas* of land—which was granted by means of a copper-plate, under orders conveyed through his *Mahāmahattaka* by the illustrious one (i.e. the king), who had his two feet worshipped by *Śirīsha* flowers, namely, the heads of all his ministers—to the suppliant, *Prithvidharaśarmman*, a meritorious *Yajurvedī Brāhmaṇa*.

(Verse 8). Three *dronas* of land, demarcated by boundaries in **Kāmanā-piṇḍiyāka** and two *dronas* of land, similarly demarcated in the hamlet called **Ketaṅgapālā**.

(L. 28). Wherein, in **Ḍāmbāraḍāma**, in the village of **Kāmanapiṇḍiyā** :—on the east, bounded by the public road; on the south, bounded by the edifice attached to *Lavaṇotsavāśrama*; on the west, bounded by the land (known as) *Navrāpālya*; and on the north, bounded by *Mṛitachchadā*—the land having these four boundaries, measuring 3 *dronas* and consisting of homestead and arable plots. And in the village of **Ketaṅgapālā** :—on the east, bounded by the

land (known as) **Lambaśāsana** ; on the south, bounded by the land (known as) Navrāpālya ; on the west, bounded by the cattle-track ; and on the north, bounded by Mṛitachchadā—the land having these four boundaries and consisting of homestead and arable land measuring 1 *drona*. Again in (that) village, homestead and arable land measuring 1 *drona* situated to the south, west and north of Bāghapokhirā—altogether these two *dronas* of land in two plots. Thus in all 5 *dronas* of homestead and arable land belonging to the two villages.—There are also verses enjoining Dharma in this matter.

[Here follow three of the customary verses (vv. 9-11) of which the first two have been already translated. See p. 9, vv. 12 and 9].

(Verse 11). Considering that life, youth and wealth are as unsteady as a drop of water on a shaking (lotus) petal and knowing what is right, concentrate your restless mind in piety for (your) welfare. The good deeds of others, if protected, become like your own.

APPENDICES

1. DHULLĀ COPPER-PLATE OF ŚRICHANDRA

This copperplate, which was discovered by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, Curator of the Dacca Museum in 1925, has not yet been published. But Mr. Bhattasali has very kindly placed at my disposal a transcript of the record in the light of which an account is given below with his permission. The copperplate is now deposited in the Dacca Museum.

Like the Rāmpāl and Kedārpur copperplates (above, p. 1ff and p. 10 ff) it is a single plate inscribed on both sides and has the *Dharma-chakra* seal attached to the top. The inscription consists of 47 lines of which 23 are engraved on the obverse and 24 on the reverse.

It consists of the following verses:—

v. 1—वन्द्यो जिन स भगवान् etc. (R and K. 1*); v. 2—चन्द्राणाम् (R. 2); v. 3—बुद्धस्य (R. 3); v. 4—दर्शेऽस्य (R. 4); v. 5—पुत्रस्तस्य (R. 5); v. 6—ज्योत्स्नेव (R. 6); v. 7—स राजयोगेन (R. 7); v. 8—एकातपत्ताभरणान्भुवम् (R. 8); and v. 9—स्रष्टः (K. 7).

These verses occur in lines 1 to 17 on the obverse. Towards the end of line 17 begins the prose portion स खलु etc. which is continued up to line 41 on the reverse side. The following benedictive and imprecatory verses then occur in lines 41 to 46:

v. 10—भूमिं यः (R. 9); v. 11—षष्टिस्वर्ष (R. 10); v. 12—सदत्ताम् (R. 11); v. 13—बहुभिर्व्वसुधा (R. 12); and v. 14—इति कमलदत्ताम्बु (R. 13).

The record is dated (in line 46) in the year 35, the 25th day of Jyāishṭha. The abbreviated form of endorsement: महासां नि अनु महाच्च नि occurs at the end, in lines 46-47.

The inscription was issued from Vikramapura like the two other copperplates of Śrīchandradeva (l.17). He as well as his father Trailokyachandradeva, bears the same titles as in the Rāmpāl and Kedārpur copperplates. The inscription records a grant of land in the Paundra-bhukti, which is as follows:—

(1) In the village of Durvvāpattra in Vallimundāmaṇḍala situated in Khe-diravallī-vishaya—4 *halas*.

* R denotes the Rāmpāl and K, the Kedārpur copper-plate. The figures 1, 2 etc. refer to the number of the verses.

- (2) In Loniyājodāprastara (prāntara ?)—3 *halas*.
 (3) In Tivaravillī village—2 *halas*.
 (4) In the village of Parkaḍimundā in Yolāmaṇḍala in Ikkaḍāsivishaya—2 *halas* and 6 *droṇas*.
 (5) In the village of Mulapatrā (?)—7 *halas* : thus in all 19 (?) *halas* and 6 *droṇas* (lines 20 to 23).

This land was granted by king Śrīchandra in the name of Buddhabaṭṭāraka (line 37) to the *Sāntivārīka* Vyāsagaṅgaśarmman who belonged to the Vārddhakaśika *gotra* and the *pravara* of the three Ṛishis, and was a student of the Kāṇvaśākhā. He was a son of Vibhugaṅga, grandson of Nandagaṅga and great-grandson of Jayagaṅga. The gift was made on account of his having conducted the *Adbhutaśānti* ceremony on the occasion of the performance of the Four Homas (lines 33 to 36). The seal *Dharmma-chakramudrā*, attached to the copperplate, is mentioned in line 38.

It should be noted that like the Rāmpāl copperplate this one also was granted in favour of a *Sāntivārīka*, or 'the priest in charge of propitiatory rites.' The former gift was made on the occasion of Koṭīhoma ceremony and the latter on the performance of a certain propitiatory rite called *Adbhuta-śānti*, during the *Homachatusṭaya* or the Four Homas. That a Buddhist like Śrīchandra could take active part in Brahmanical observances of this nature is a fact of paramount interest for the history of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period.

2. EDILPUR COPPER-PLATE OF ŚRĪCHANDRA

On pp. 2-3 mention has been made of an unpublished copper-plate of Śrīchandra, found at Edilpur in the Faridpur district. An account of this plate prepared by the late Mr. Gangamohan Laskar was published by Mr. J. T. Rankin, I.C.S. in the *Dacca Review* for October, 1912 which has been reproduced by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90. The original plate exists, but I am told is not available.

It is a single plate engraved on both sides and has the *Dharmachakra* seal attached to the top. The inscription which consists of 36 lines seems to contain the following verses :—

- v. 1—वन्द्यो जिनः (R. and K. 1); v. 2—नाग्नौ विशुद्धः (K. 3);
 v. 3—probably दर्शस्य माता (R. 4); v. 4—त्रैलोक्यसंकीर्तितपुण्यकीर्तिः
 (K. 4); v. 5—चतुःपयोरशि (K. 5); v. 6—uncertain; v. 7—स राजयोगिन
 (R. 7); and v. 8—uncertain.

These verses occur in lines 1 to 18. The subsequent portion of the record states that it was issued from Vikramapura (lines 18-19), being granted by the *Paramasargata*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-chandradeva who 'meditated on the feet' of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Trailokya-chandradeva (lines 20-21). The grant consisted of a piece of land in the village of Leliyā in the Kumāratālakamaṇḍala situated in the Satāṭa-Padmāvāṭivishaya. The name of the donee and other details are not known.

3. A COPPER-PLATE OF HARIVARMAN

Besides the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarmman there seems to exist another copper-plate of the Varmman dynasty of Eastern Bengal. It belongs to the reign of the *Parama-vaishnava*, *Parameśvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* Harivarmman (above p. 28), son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Jyotirvarmman—who represent, according to some scholars, a collateral branch of the main Varmman family. The copper-plate was issued from Vikramapura. A very indistinct photograph of only one side of the plate is given by Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Castes and Sects of Bengal (Vaṅger Jātīya-Itihās)*, Vol. II, frontispiece. On pp. 215-217 he also gives an extremely tentative reading of a portion of the document which I am afraid is too conjectural to be utilized for historical purposes. The plate is referred to also by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 97-98, where he quotes only a portion of the record as follows:—
“Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmad-Jyotirvarmmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Paramavaishṇava-Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja - śrīmad - Harivarmmadevaha kuśalī.”

The copper-plate cannot be traced at present.

4. PAIKORE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASENA

This inscription, which consists of a single line, is engraved on a stone pillar surmounted by a figure of Manasā, ‘the serpent goddess,’ discovered at the village of Paikore in the District of Birbhum. It was first published in 1920 by Kumar Mahimanirajan Chakravarti of Hetampur in his *Birbhum-vivaran*, Vol. II, p. 10 and subsequently by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1921-22, pp. 78-79 and 80, and Pl. XXVIII, b. The inscription reads as follows :

....राजेन श्रीविजयसे(नेन)...

It appears that a number of letters from the beginning and end of the inscription have peeled off. King Vijayasena mentioned in this inscription has been identified with Vijayasena of the Sena Dynasty.

5. SUNDARBAN COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA

This copper-plate was discovered sometime about the year 1868 in that portion of the Sundarbans which is now within the District of 24-Parganas. No definite information is available about its actual find place, or the circumstances under which it came to light.¹ Unfortunately the copper-plate was lost soon after its discovery. It seems to have been first mentioned in Marshman's *History of Bengal*, 1868, p. 4. Tentative readings of it were published by Pandit Rāmgati Nyāyaratna in his *Essay on Bengali Language and Literature* (Bengali), Part II, p. 371, and by Hiranmay Mukherji in the *Mitrodaya*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 37. In 1880 Kailaschandra Sinha published his own version of the text in the *Bhāratī*, Vol. IV, pp. 495-62, which in many respects was an improvement on those of his predecessors. Although he could not examine the original plate which was missing, he had the advantage of the text of the Tarpanadighi copper-plate published in the *Journal the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, Part I, pp. 11-12. He, however, in attempting to restore the original text completely often went too far, as many passages which do not evidently occur in it were imported from the published text of the latter copper-plate.

Since the discovery of this plate and the Tarpanadighi one, some more plates of the Sena dynasty have been published, and the knowledge of Indian epigraphy has made considerable advance. An attempt to reconstruct the text of the lost document is now much more possible than it was in 1880.

This appears to have been a single plate engraved on both sides, bearing the seal of Sadāśiva soldered to the top. We do not know how many lines the inscription contained or such details as the size of the plate and of the inscribed letters.

The language is Sanskrit, partly prose and partly verse. There are seven verses at the beginning which are exactly the same as those, for instance, in the Ānuliā copper-plate of Lakshmanasena (see above pp. 85-86) and occur in the same order as in that record. Towards the end again are four verses three of which are the customary ones, and the fourth mentions the name of the *Dūta*. The remaining portion of the inscription is in prose.

¹ A writer in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratavarsha*, 1332 B. S., p. 622 says that it was found by the late Babu Haridas Dutt, Zamindar of Majilpur in excavating a tank in the village of Bakultala to the south of Kasinagar in the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the 24 Parganas.

The inscription is one of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramanārasimha*,¹ *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Lakshmaṇasenadeva, 'who meditated on the feet of' the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vallālasena and is issued from 'the camp of victory' at Vikramapura. It is addressed to his various officials and other persons who are enumerated in exactly the same manner as in his other copper-plates. The grant consisted of a plot of land (*kiyān*=*api bhūbhāgaḥ*) of a village called Maṇḍalagrāma (?), along with a homestead, measuring 3 *bhū-droṇas*, 1 *khādīkā* (?), 23 *unmānas* and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kākiṇīs*, according to the standard of 32 cubits=1 *unmāna* and 1 cubit=12 *aṅgulas* (?), as marked on the pillar of Ugramādhava (?) and yielding an annual income of 50 *purāṇas*. The village was situated in Kāntallapura-*chaturaka* belonging to Khādī-maṇḍala of the Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. The boundaries of the plot are as follows: to the east, the land granted to the *Sāntyāgārika*² Prabhāsa; to the south, half of the Chitāḍī canal (*Chitāḍī-khāta*); to the west, the eastern side of the land granted to the *Sāntyāgārika* Rāmadeva; to the north, the land of the *Sāntyāgārikas* Viṣṇupāṇi (?) Gaḍolī and Keśava Gaḍolī. The donee was the *Sāntyāgārika* Kṛishṇadharadevaśarmman, son of Narasimhadharadevaśarmman, grandson of Nārāyaṇadharadevaśarmman and great-grandson of Jagaddharadevaśarmman, belonging to Gārgya-*gotra*, Āṅgīrasa, Brihaspati, Uśanas (?), Garga and Bharadvāja *pravaras* and a student of the Āśvalāyana *sākhā* of the R̥gveda. The name of the *dūta* is not clear; it might be Nārāyaṇadatta, the *dūta* of Lakshmaṇasena's three other copper-plates. The date is the year 2 (or 3), the 10th day of Māgha. The abbreviated form of official endorsement *Śrī ni Mahāsā ni*, familiar to us from other Sena records, appears to be given at the end.

Khādī-vishaya of the Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* occurs in ll.31-32 of the Barrackpore copper-plate of Vijayasena (see above p. 60). As noted by Hiranmay Mukherji³, editor of the *Mitrodaya* and Pandit Rāmgati Nyāyaratna⁴, Khādī is at present the name of a Pargana in Diamond Harbour Subdivision. As regards the canal Chitāḍī-khāta the former says that there is even now a canal called Chitāḍī-khal in this region.

I now give below my reconstruction of the text, omitting of course the first seven verses which are already well-known from other records.

¹ This title is used by Lakshmaṇasena in his Govindapur and Mādhānagar plates. See above pp. 95 and 111.

² See remarks above p. 112, n. 5.

³ *Mitrodaya*, Vol. I. No. 6, p. 37 quoted by Kailas Chandra Sinha; see now *Bhāratavarsha*, 1332 B. S., pp. 622-23.

⁴ *Essay on Bengali Language and Literature* (3rd ed.), Intr. to 1st ed., p. 22.

ABSTRACT OF TEXT.

(R=Rāmgati Nyāyaratna's readings and K=those of Kailas Chandra Sinha).

स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्तन्वावारात् महाराजाधिराजश्रीवल्लालसेन-
पादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमनारसिंह¹परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजः श्रीमल्लक्षणसेनदेवः (कुशली)
(समुपगताशेष) राजराजन्यकराज्ञीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यपुरोहितधर्मार्थमहासाम्निविग्रहिक-
महासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृतअन्तरङ्ग²बृहदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिकमहाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापौ-
लुपतिमहागणस्थ³-दौःसाधिक⁴-चौरोद्वरणिकनौवलहस्त्यखगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्याघ्रतकगौल्लिक-
दण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविषयपत्यादीन् अन्याश्च⁵ सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहा-
कीर्त्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथाहं मानयति⁶
बोधयति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां यथा पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपातिखाडीमण्डले⁷
कान्तल्लपुरचतुरके⁸ पूर्व शान्त्यागारिकप्रभासशासनं⁹ सीमा दक्षिणे चिताडिखाताहं सीमा पश्चिमे
शान्त्यागारिक¹⁰-रामदेवशासनपूर्वपार्श्वः सीमा उत्तरे शान्त्यागारिक¹¹-विष्णुपाणिगडोलीकेशव-
गडोलीभूमि सीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः श्रीमदुग्रमाधवपादोयस्तन्वाङ्कित¹² द्वादशाङ्गुलाधिक-
हस्तेन(?) द्वात्रिंशद्वस्तपरिमितोन्मानेनोधस्त्या¹³(?) सार्द्धकाकिणीद्वयाधिकत्रयोविंशत्युन्मानोत्तर¹⁴-
खाडिक¹⁵(?) समेतः भूदोणत्रयात्मकः सम्बत्सरेण पञ्चाशत्पुराणोत्पत्तिकः सवास्तुचिह्नः
मण्डलग्रामीयः(?)¹⁶ कियानपि भूभागः सभाटविटपः¹⁷ सजलस्थलः सगर्तोषरः सगुवाकनारिकेलः
सह्यदशापराधः¹⁸ परिहृतसर्वपौडोऽचट्टभट्टप्रवेशोऽकिञ्चित्प्रग्राह्यस्तृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः जगद्धर-
देवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय नारायणधरदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय नरसिंहधरदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय गर्गसगोत्राय
अङ्गिरोद्वहस्त्युशन¹⁹गर्गभरहाजप्रवराय ऋग्वेदाखलायनशाखाध्यायिने शान्त्यागारिक²⁰-श्रीकृष्ण-
धरदेवशर्मणे पुण्येऽहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापितो
रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये²¹ उत्सृज्याचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं यावत् भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन
ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः । तद्वद्विः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरेणे
नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् ।

¹ *Paramavārasimha*—R ; *Paramavaishnava*—K.

² *mahāgana*—R ; *mahāganasku*—K.

³ *vanyāms=cha*—R and K.

⁴ *Khāḍi-maṇḍali*—R and K.

⁵ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

⁶ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

⁷ The significance of this portion is not clear owing to some misreading which cannot be detected.

⁸ *parimitānmānena*—R and K.

⁹ *khāvavaka*—R ; *khāvakaka (kāvavaka)*—K. My emendation is not certain.

¹⁰ *Maṇḍalagrāmīyah*—R ; *Maṇḍalagrāmīyah*—K.

¹¹ *sakshadāśāpavādah*—R ; *sahya śāparādah*—K.

¹² *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

¹³ After this K. introduces certain passages from the Tarpanadighi plate.

¹⁴ *Antaradu*—R ; *āntaraṅga*—K.

¹⁵ *daṁḥsvārika*—R ; *daussādika*—K.

¹⁶ *ṛhak mānayatī*—R ; *ṛhamānayatī*—K.

¹⁷ Cf. Govindapur plate, l. 34 : *Betaḍḍachaturake*.

¹⁸ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

¹⁹ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

²⁰ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

²¹ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

²² *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

²³ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

²⁴ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

²⁵ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

²⁶ *śāntyaśāvika*—R and K.

भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ।¹

भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।

उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥

स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां ।

स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पिष्टभिः सह पच्यते ॥

इति कमलदलाख्यविन्दुलोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च ।

सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥

श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनक्षौणोद्भो² सान्धिवियहिक³

नारायणदत्तमकरोत् कृष्णधरस्य शासने दूत⁴ ॥

सं २⁵माघदिने १० श्री नि महासा नि⁶ ॥

¹ After this K. introduces the verse *Bahubhir=vrasudhā* etc.

² *kṣaṇapibhānu*—R and K.

³ After the letter *hi* R has *Keśavipra vādhinā yaskārāt* and K *kama* * * . The reading *Nārāyaṇadatta* is probable but not certain. He was the *dūta* in Lakshmanasena's three other copperplates of the years 2 and 3.

⁴ *śāsanīkṛitam*—R and K.

⁵ This may be 3 as K says. But R transcribes it as *ha* which would resemble the sign for '2' rather than '3.'

⁶ *māne matāsātih*—R.

6. EXTRACT FROM THE ADBHUTASĀGARA

The *Adbhutāsāgara* ascribed to Vallālasena gives the following description of the Senas (see Muralidhara Jhā's ed., Prabhākari Co., Benares, 1905, pp. 1-4) :

नृपकोटिकिरीटरोचिरंशुस्रपनप्रांशुनखांशुमञ्जरौकैः ।

‘चरणैर्धरणीं प्रसाधयन्तो वि’ यदोजोऽधिकमासतेन्दुवंश्याः ॥ [१]

भुजातेजस्तेषामियमसहमानेव वसुधा

द्विधा भावं-भावं नवशकलभावं गतवती ।

यशोलेपानां तद्विलसितमहो नेयमभवद्-

विदीर्णब्रह्माण्डस्यविरपिठरौकर्मरपुटः ॥ [२]

भुवः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुरभोधिलहरी-

परीताया भर्ताऽजनि विजयसेनः शशिकुले ।

यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजतेजःसहचरै-

र्यशोभिः शोभन्ते परिधिपरिणीता इव दिशः ॥ [३]¹

वेदायनैकपथिकः ककुभां भुजङ्गः संग्रामरङ्ग इव जङ्गमतामुपेतः ।

चेतोमहौषधिनेवेशवशाहितश्रीर्वल्लालसेन इति भूमिपतिस्ततोऽभूत् ॥ [४]

किं लक्ष्म्या तुलयामि कातरशतं पान्था नृणां तं सुरं

लक्ष्माप्याजिविचम्बितां स सकलं धत्ते सुदोस्तम्पदम् ।

यस्याङ्घ्रिः पतिभैक्ष्यकाकुविलुठद्विद्वेषिनारौशिरः—

सिन्दूरोत्करमुद्रितो जनलिपिर्निर्मुक्तियन्त्रं द्विषाम् ॥ [५]

मन्दारोदयसेवितोऽपि न गिरिभ्रान्त्याऽतिभूतः क्व चिद्-

व्यक्तग्राहविचेष्टितोऽपि विततो नक्षत्रवीथी वलैः ।

आपत्ताणपरायणचित्तिभृतां तुङ्गेरनङ्गीकृतः

सर्वत्राङ्गुतसागरोऽवनिभृता तेनायमारभ्यते ॥ [६]

मीमांसालयमांसल स्मृतिपरामर्षप्रकर्षस्फुरद्-

वेदाङ्गागमतत्त्वनिस्तुषमतिर्निःशङ्कपृथ्वीपतिम् ।

युक्तायुक्तनिरूपणप्रणयिनं प्रीत्या महीनाथनं

वंशोत्तंसमहार्धरत्ननिलयश्रीः श्रीनिवासं व्यधात् ॥ [७]

¹ This verse occurs with slight modification in some of the copper-plates of Lakshmanasena. See above p. 86, v. 5.

ज्योतिर्विदार्यवचनानि विचार्य तेषां तात्पर्यपर्यवसितो ग्रथनानुपूर्व्या ।
 विप्रप्रसादनवशादवसादबुद्धिर्निःशङ्कशङ्करनृपः कुरुते प्रयत्नम् ॥ [८]
 शाके नवाष्टखेन्दा—१०८८ ख्य आरिभेऽङ्गतसागरम् ।¹
 गौडेन्द्रकुञ्जरालानस्तम्भवाहुर्महोपतिः ॥ [९]
 ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनयेऽसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीं मुदा
 दीक्षापर्वणि दक्षिणे निजकृतेर्निष्पत्तिमस्थापयत् ।
 नानादानातिलाख्यसंवलनभं सूर्यात्मजासङ्गमं
 गङ्गायां विरचय्य निर्जरपुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥ [१०]
 श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरतिश्लाघ्यो यदुद्योगतो
 निष्पन्नीऽङ्गतसागरः कृतिरसौ वल्लालभूमौभुजः ।
 ख्यातः केवलमर्णवः सगरजस्तातस्य तत्पूरण-
 प्रावीण्येन भगीरथेन भुवनेष्वद्यापि विद्योतते ॥ [११]

¹ For other readings of this couplet containing a date see Banerji, *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 275. On its genuineness see R. C. Majumdar, *J. A. S. B.*, 1921, p. 11 and p. 12 and ns; and D. C. Bhattacharya, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 146. Cf. Banerji, *Bānglār Itihās*, 2nd ed., pp. 321-22 and 333-36.

7. EXTRACT FROM THE DĀNASĀGARA

The *Dānasāgara* ascribed to Vallālasena has the following verses with reference to the Senas (see extract of the work published by Syama Charan Kaviratna, Calcutta, Śaka 1836, pp. 1-4 and cf. Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the India Office*, Part III, 1891, pp. 542-43) :

ये साक्षादवनौतलामृतभुजो वर्णाश्रमज्यायसां
येषां पाणिषु निक्षिपन्ति कृतिनः पाथेयमासुषिकम् ।
यदक्नोपगताः पुनन्ति जगतीं पुण्यास्त्रिवेदीगिर-
स्तेभ्योनिर्भरभक्तिसम्भ्रम-नमन्मौलिद्विजेभ्यो नमः ॥ १ ॥
इन्दोर्दिश्वैकवन्धोः श्रुतिनियमगुरुः क्षत्रचारित्रचर्या-
मर्यादागोत्रश्रेष्ठः कलिचकितसदाचार-सञ्चारसीमा ।
सङ्घृतस्वच्छरत्नोज्ज्वल-पुरुषगणोऽच्छिन्नसन्तानधारा-
वन्धैर्मुक्तासरश्चीर्निरगमदवनीर्भूषणं सेनवंशः ॥ २ ॥
तत्रालङ्कृतसत्पथः स्थिरघनच्छायाभिरामः सतां
स्वच्छन्दप्रणयोपभोगसुलभः कल्पद्रुमो जङ्गमः ।
हेमन्तः परिपन्थिपङ्कजसरः सङ्घस्य नैसर्गिके-
रुचीतः स्वगुणैरुदात्तमहिमा हेमन्तसेनोऽजनि ॥ ३ ॥
तदनु विजयसेनः प्रादुरासीन्नरेन्द्रो
दिशि विदिशि भजन्ते यस्य वीरध्वजत्वम् ।
शिखर-विनिहिताज्ञा-वैजयन्तीं वहन्तः
प्रणतिपरिगृहीताः प्रांशवो राजवंशाः ॥ ४ ॥
सर्व्वाशाः परिपूरयन्नुपचितश्चीर्दानवारां घनै-
रासारैरभिषिक्त-निर्मलयशः-शालेय-भूमण्डलः ।
दैव्योत्तापभृतामकालजलदः सर्व्वोत्तरः क्षमाभृतां
श्रीवल्लालनृपस्ततोऽजनि गुणाविर्भावगर्भेश्वरः ॥ ५ ॥
वेदार्थस्मृतिसंकथादिपुरुषः श्लाघ्यो वरेन्द्रीतले
निस्तन्द्रोज्ज्वलधौविलासनयनः सारस्वतब्रह्मणि ।
षट्कर्माऽभवदार्थशीलनिलयः प्रख्यातसत्यव्रतो
वृत्तारैरिव गीष्पतिर्नरपतेरस्यानिरुद्धो गुरुः ॥ ६ ॥

अधिगत-सकल-पुराणस्मृतिसारः अद्या गुरोरस्मात् ।
 कलिकल्मषावसादं दाननिबन्धं विधातुकामोऽपि ॥ ७ ॥
 दुरधिगम-धर्मनिर्णय-विषमाध्यवसाय-संशयस्तिमितः ।
 नरपतिरयमारुहे ब्राह्मणचरणारविन्द-परिचर्याम् ॥ ८ ॥
 शुश्रूषापरितोषितैरविरतं सन्भूय भूदैवतै-
 र्दत्तामोघवरप्रसाद-विशद-स्वान्तस्खलत्संशयः ।
 श्रीवक्त्रालनरेश्वरो विरचयत्येतं गुरोः शिष्या
 स्वप्रज्ञावधि दानसागरमयं अद्वावतां श्रेयसे ॥ ९ ॥
 भूयो भूयः प्रणम्य चितिवलय-मिलन्मौलिवन्द्या द्विजेन्द्राः
 श्रीमद्वक्त्रालसेनः स्थिरविनयनिबद्धाञ्जलिर्याचते वः ।
 काले काले भवद्भिः स्मृतसुकृतलवैः पालनीयो ममायं
 सामान्यः पुण्यभार्जा भवजलधिमहासेतुबन्धो निबन्धः ॥ १० ॥

In the India Office MS. noticed by Eggeling (*op. cit.*, p. 545) the original work comes to an end with a list of authorities consulted, followed by the statement इति दानसागरः समाप्तः । Then are given a table of contents and a carelessly compiled list of authorities (now for the second time) in which the *Devīpurāṇa* and *Srī-Bhāgavata*, mentioned in the first list, are omitted. Then comes a list of Bengal kings (बङ्गदेशीयराज्ञामनुक्रमेण नामानि)¹ followed by a rather uncanny sentence अत्र सम्वत्सरादिसमयविशेषपरिचयाय दानसागरस्य निर्माणवर्षस्यैव सम्वत्सरत्व प्रतिपादनाय लिख्यते, and finally, the oft-quoted chronogram yielding the Saka year 1091 as the date of the work : निखिलभूपचक्रतिलकश्रीमद्वक्त्रालसेनदेवेन पूर्वं शशिनवदशमित १०८१ शकवर्षे दानसागरो रचितः ॥ Judging from the nature of the composition of the portion subsequent to इति दानसागरः समाप्तः it is extremely doubtful if it could be safely ascribed to the author of the *Dānasāgara*.

For additional chronogrammatic verses giving the same date 1091 occurring in certain MSS, see N. N. Vasu, *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, Pt. I, p. 23.

¹ The term बङ्गदेशीय has a distinctly modern appearance. Further, there is no meaning in inserting a genealogical list here as the family has been already described in no less than ten stanzas.

8. TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION XV :

CALCUTTA SĀHITYA-PARISHAT COPPER-PLATE OF VISVARUPASENA.¹

(For verses 1-7, 9-14 and 16-22 see above pages 126-29 and 138).

(Verse 8). Thousands of whose elephants on being goaded to the front by his army had by the flow (of their ichor) burst through the forts of the hostile princes ; and the latter being on the point of leaving this world appeared like those sinking in an ocean, desperately looking towards the shore.

(Verse 15). That crest-jewel of ladies, after creating whom the god Brahmā considered his hands sacred, who by her personal charms and conduct adorned the universe and whose desires were fulfilled by the co-wives Earth and Fortune—that illustrious queen *Tyashṭanadevī*,² who was able to attain the three-fold object (*viz.*, *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*), became his chief consort.

(For lines 35-37 and 39-41 see above pages 129-30).

(L. 38). The *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, 'the devout worshipper of the Sun,' *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-Saṅkara*, lord of *Gauḍa*, the illustrious *Viśvarūpasena* orders :

(Ll. 41-47). Be it known to you that : in *Rāmasiddhipāṭaka* which is in *Nāvya*³ in *Vaṅga*, included within the *Paunḍravardhana-bhukti*, 34½ *udānas*⁴ of homestead land having its four boundaries as follows :—on the south-west, *Varāhakunḍa* ('the tank of *Varāha*'); on the east, *Devahāradeva-bhoga* ; on the south, *Bāṅgālabadā* ; and on the west and north, the river. And to the east of *Devahāra* 4 and 4½ *vyā bhū*, 1½ of homestead land and 26½ *udānas* of arable land ; to the north of *Devahāra* arable land, 2 and 1½ :—Thus land including homestead plots, measuring 67½ *udānas*⁵ and (yielding an income

¹ At first I gave up the idea of publishing a translation of the record, because in many places the text, as deciphered by M.M. Haraprasād Sastri and for the time being adopted by me, would not yield any sensible interpretation. Correct readings, or better readings, of many of these doubtful passages occurred to me after a prolonged examination of the estampages, when the articles on the present record and the two subsequent ones were already in the final stage of printing. I could then introduce only some of the necessary corrections in the text and the introduction. But to insert a translation after the text was impossible as that would have upset the composition of all the subsequent pages. Hence it appears as an Appendix. Points where I differ from Sastri are mentioned in the footnotes.

² The name of the queen was read by Sastri as *टट्टणदेवी*.

³ The manner in which the word is used in ll. 42 and 47, and again in ll. 64 and 65, shows that it has to be taken as a geographical term.

⁴ From l. 59 it appears that *udāna* and *unmāna* are synonymous.

⁵ This is followed by the expression *ग्रामपत्न्या* which is not intelligible. A word, which Sastri reads as *उदाति* and I read as *उपति* but which cannot be interpreted, occurs before the figures 1½ and 1½.

of) 80⁵/₁₆. Again, in the same village, the income of four new *barajas*¹ belonging to.....*gāñi*² and ³three other *barajas* belonging to.....(yielding) 19¹/₁₆. This land in two plots (measuring)⁴*kā* 2 and *kha* 7, given away⁵ on the great *Uttarā-yanasankramaṇa* (i.e. Winter Solstice) day of the thirteenth regnal year,⁶ (yielding an income of) 100 in all.

And in *Vinayatilaka* village in *Nāvya*, 25 *udānas* of land including homestead plots, (yielding) from various sources⁷ (an income of) 60, with four boundaries as follows: on the east, the sea; on the south, *Pranullī*⁸ land; on the west, the embankment; and on the north, the village.

(Ll. 48-51). And in *Ajikulā-pātāka*,⁹ which is in *Navasaṃgraha-chaturaka* and *Madhukshiraka-āvrīti*,¹⁰ 165 *udānas* of land, as laid down in the title-deed (*paṭṭolī*),¹¹ circumscribed within its own well-known boundaries, including homestead plots, purchased by this *Āvallika-paṇḍita*¹² Halāyudha from Uchchhoka and others,¹³ owing to various causes of depreciation¹⁴ (yielding only) 100. And growing (?)¹⁵ in the homestead plots of the (aforesaid) land, one hundred betelnut trees (estimated at?) 30, but yielding a price of 40—from these two sources altogether 140. And in *Deūlahastī* in *Lāuhanḍā-chaturaka*¹⁶ in *Vikramapura*—(situated) to the east and west of the river¹⁷.....land including homestead plots, measuring 25 *udānas*, as laid down in the title-deed, purchased by the same from *Kāmāpinṭha Nāga* and others (yielding an income of) 50.

¹ I E. 'betel-leaf plantations.' Cf. modern Bengali *baraj* used in that sense.

² Probably the name of an individual belonging to a particular *gāñi* was mentioned here. But the passage as transcribed yields hardly any sense.

³ This portion is preceded by a few words of doubtful reading.

⁴ The abbreviations *kā* and *kha* are not clear.

⁵ Sastri reads *समुलक्षित* wherever the word *समुत्सर्गित* occurs in the record (ll. 53, 58).

⁶ Sastri reads *त्रयोदशवर्षे* and misses the reference to the regnal year.

⁷ In the compound *नानापत्ति*, the word *पत्ति* which literally means 'going' or 'walking' seems to be used in a secondary sense of 'means' or 'ways.' The compound word is repeated in l. 50.

⁸ The meaning of *प्रनुल्ली* (?) is not known. Cf. *Panāḍī* = a canal, in Hathigumpha Inscription.

⁹ Sastri reads *अडिजला*.

¹⁰ Cf. *Kāntāpura-āvrīti* of the Mādhānagar plate.

¹¹ For the meaning of *paṭṭolī* see p. 140 above and M. Williams, *s.v. paṭṭolikā*. The abbreviation *से* here and elsewhere, occurring in similar context stands probably for *सम्बद्ध*.

¹² The significance of *आवल्लिक* is not known.

¹³ Sastri reads *डाव्वीक*. A few words occurring before it are not intelligible.

¹⁴ *उच्छ्रवत्* i.e. *उत्सन्नत्*.

¹⁵ The word in question is read *कलन* which may mean 'causing.' The word intended might, however, have been *फलन* 'bearing fruit' which suits the context better.

¹⁶ Sastri reads *लाङ्गुण्डा*.

¹⁷ The words *राजहिता* *स* etc. are not intelligible.

(Ll. 52-53). The last three (plots) were granted on account of the venerable mother having witnessed the Lunar Eclipse,¹ (yielding) together with the price of betelnuts from the land, 250 in all.

(Ll. 53-54). And in the same village, 7 *u(dānas)* of arable land and 3 *u(dānas)* of homestead land and land in which grow betelnut trees: thus in all 10 *u(dānas)* including homestead land in two plots (yielding an income of) 25, purchased by the same person from Bārābrahma and Amṛitoka. This land, as laid down in the title-deed, was made over to him by Kumāra Sūryyasena² on his birth-day.

(Ll. 54-56). And in the same village 3 *u(dānas)* of arable land and 4 *u(dānas)* of homestead land and land in which grow betelnut trees: thus in two plots 7 *u(dānas)* of land including homestead land, as in the title-deed, yielding 25, (originally) purchased by the same person from Bārakalo and Amṛitoka, and (later) granted to him by the *Sāṅdhivigrahika* Nāñisimha. The last two plots (yielding) altogether 50.

(Ll. 56-57). And in Ghāghara-kāṭṭī-pāṭaka,³ in Urā-chaturaka within -ndradvīpa,⁴ land (measuring) 12½ *udānas* together with homestead plots, situated to the east of Jayajāhaḍā, as in the title-deed, purchased by the same *Āvallika-paṇḍita* Halāyudha from the *Rājapaṇḍita* Maheśvara, (yielding) 50.

(Ll. 57-58). And in Pātīlādivīka in -ndradvīpa, 24 *udānas* of land together with homestead plots, which were being (formerly) enjoyed by (?)⁵ Kumāra Purushottamasena and (later) given away by him, in the fourteenth regnal year,⁶ on the occasion of the Utthānadvādaśī, (yielding) 50.

(Ll. 58-59). Thus in all, land divided into various plots,⁷ measuring three hundred and thirty-six and half *unmānas*⁸, that is *udānas*, (yielding)

¹ Sastri separates मातृचरणा and नाम and takes the former as a place name. He also reads सोमयासे instead of सोमयासे. If the reading दहेन is correct we have to take it probably as हेतौ वृत्तिया.

² Sastri reads सदासेन here and in l. 66.

³ Cf. place names like Ghāghrāhāṭṭī in East Bengal. Sastri reads डोम्वरकाटी.

⁴ There is considerable doubt about the reading कन्द द्वीप as given by Sastri. In each of the three cases in ll. 56, 57 and 66 the first letter shows an opening on the right below the top stroke. Other possible readings are *Chandradvīpa* and *Indradvīpa*. I am unable to decide which one would be most suitable.

⁵ There are two letters after सुज्यमान whose reading I cannot make out.

⁶ Sastri reads चतुर्दशीयापि- and misses the reference to the regnal year.

⁷ This is evidently the meaning of चूर्णा

⁸ Sastri reads संक्षेपदानि शब्दानाधिकतमचतुस्रोदनात्मक which is obviously wrong. That the number is 336½, and not 332, will follow from the addition of the numbers of *udānas* in the foregoing portion of the record. Thus

together with the price of betelnuts and the profit from *barajas*, altogether 500.¹

(Ll. 59-64). (This grant) together with land and water, forest and branches, pits and barren tracts, waste and arable land, betelnut and cocoanut trees, non-enterable by *Chattas* and *Bhattas* (is given by Us) for as long as the Sun, the Moon and the Earth will endure, to the *Āvallika-paṇḍita* Halāyudhaśarmman, a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Vātsya gotra, and the five *pravaras*, Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Yamadagnya and Āpnuvat, and a student of a section of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Yajurveda, great-grandson of Lakshmīdharadevaśarmman, belonging to the Vātsya gotra, and the five *pravaras*, Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Yāmadagnya and Āpnuvat, and a student of a section of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Yajurveda, grandson of Devadharadevaśarmman,² and son of Adhyaya-devaśarmman, so that he and his descendants including sons, grandsons and so forth may enjoy it at their pleasure, by causing the erection of temples, excavation of tanks and plantation of betelnut, cocoanut and other trees (in the land).

(Ll. 65-67). (The land is briefly as follows :)

In Nāvya ³ , on the great Saṁkramaṇa day of the great Winter Solstice	100
In parts of Nāvya, Madhukshiraka and Vaṅga, on the occasion of the Lunar Eclipse witnessed by the venerable mother.	250
In Vikramapura, the gift of Kumāra Sūryyasena ⁴ on his birth day, in all	25
Therein, the gift of Sāndhi ⁵ Nāñisīmha, in all	25
Purchased in Urā-chaturaka in -ndradvīpa, in all	50
And in Pātilādivīka, the gift of Kumāra Purushottamasena, in all	50

(Ll. 67-68). Thus in all land having an income of 500, including that from *barajas* and betelnuts' is given by Us according to the principle of *Bhūmi-chchhidra*, by means of a copper-plate, having affixed thereto the seal of Sadāśiva.

(Ll. 68-69). So you should all give your assent to it. And future kings also should protect it, considering that its withdrawal entails the fear of falling into Hell and protection (leads to) great virtue. There are also verses enjoining *Dharmma* in this matter.

(Here follow at least three of the customary verses⁶).

67½ (l. 45) + 25 (l. 48) + 165 (l. 50) + 25 (l. 52) + 10 (l. 54) + 7 (l. 56) + 12½ (l. 57) + 24 (l. 58) = 336½. Further, the letters—*दुष्मान* are very clear: the word *dramma* is not mentioned at all.

¹ Probably '500 *purāṇas*' is meant. Cf. Mādhānagar plate, l. 43, and Madanapādā plate, l. 45.

² Sastri reads वेदधर

⁴ Sastri reads दामारलीख्यैयसि'ह !

³ Sastri reads it as लाम्ये.

⁵ i.e. Sāndhivigrahika.

⁶ The verses are : भूमिं यः, बहुभिर्दुष्मा etc., and स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा etc.

9. ĀDĀVĀDĪ COPPER-PLATE OF DAŚARATHADEVA

This copper-plate, which comes from the village of Ādāvāḍī in Vikramapura, District Dacca, was acquired in 1924 by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, for the Dacca Museum. The inscription which it bears has not yet been published, but Mr. Bhattasali read a paper on it in Bengali before the Bengal Literary Conference held at Munshigunj in April, 1925. This paper which has since appeared in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratavarsha*, 1332 B.S., pp. 78-81, forms the basis of the brief account given below. My thanks are due to Mr. Bhattasali for having kindly permitted me to utilize his materials.

This is a single copper-plate, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in size. To this is affixed a seal¹ containing the representation of Nārāyaṇa holding his usual attributes, conch, discus, mace and lotus in four hands. The copper-plate is engraved on both sides. The inscription consists of 55 lines of which 26 are engraved on the obverse and 29 on the reverse.

It refers itself to the reign of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājā-dhirāja*, *Arirāja-Danujamādhava*, the illustrious Daśarathadeva (l. 6). He has also the following titles² : *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrayādhipati*, *Soma-vaiṣṇava-pradīpa*, *Pratipannakarmṇa*, *Satya-vratagāṅgeya*, *Saraṇāgata-vajrapañjara* (ll. 4-5). The epithet *Devānvayakamalavikāśabhāskara* shows that he belonged to what was called the Deva family (l. 5). The plate was issued from Vikramapura (l. 3). Regarding Daśarathadeva it is stated that he obtained the kingdom of Gauḍa (*Gauḍarājya*) through the grace of Nārāyaṇa (l. 4). This must have happened after the collapse of the Sena power. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land to a number of Brāhmaṇas whose names are as follows :—Sandhyākara, Śrīmākrī (*Diṇḍī Gāñī*), Śrīśakra, Śrīsugandha (*Pāli-gāñī*), Śrīsoma (*Seu-gāñī*), Śrīvādya (*Pāli-gāñī*), Śrīpaṇḍita (*Māsachāṭaka*), Śrīmāṇḍī (*Mūla*), Śrīrāma (*Diṇḍī*), Śrīledhu (*Sehandāyī*), Śrīdakṣha (*Putī*), Śrībhaṭṭa (*Seū*), Śrībāli (*Mahāntiyāḍā*), Śrīvāsudeva (*Karaṇja-grāmi*), Śrīmiko (*Māsachāḍaka*). The income of the land distributed to these Brāhmaṇas came to about 500 *purāṇas*. The respective share of income that would be derived by each of the aforesaid donees is mentioned against their names. Some of the localities specified in connection with the land-grant are : Antarvvāṭī (probably, modern Ādāvāḍī), Bāndikhāṇḍā (probably, modern Bāinkhāḍā),

¹ Described as *Śrīman-Nārāyaṇamudrā* in the inscription.

² These titles are also assumed by Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena. See above pp. 118, 132.

Navasamkhaha and Vīshayipādā. The boundaries of the land are : to the north, Nayanāva and Mūladāva (modern Nayanā and Māl respectively) ; to the south, Vaḍāilā and Bhāṅganiyā (corresponding respectively to the present villages of the same name) ; and to the west, Gaṇāgrāma (probably modern Ganāisār) and Māntahaṭā. The inscription is dated in the 3rd regnal year of Daśarathadeva, and the 21st day of the month of Kārttika.

Mr. Bhattasali has been able so far to gather only the above information from the copper-plate. His account, brief as it is, leaves no doubt as to the identity of Danujamādhava Daśaratha with Danaujamādhava who, according to a dynastic account by Harimiśra flourished after the Sena rule, and with Danuja Rāi, the Rājā of Sonargaon in Eastern Bengal, who, according to Ziaud-din Barni, entered into an agreement with Ghiasuddin Balban that he would guard against the escape of the rebellious Tughril Khan by water (1283 A.D.).¹ Moreover, the new copper-plate makes us acquainted with some of the 56 *gāñīs* of the Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇas which is of considerable interest for the social history of this period.

¹ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 116. Regarding Danujamādhava, his non-identity with Danujamardana whose coins are dated in Śaka 1339 i.e. 1417 A.D., and other connected problems see Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 152-56 and Vol. II, pp. 19-20.

10. TERMS DENOTING OFFICIAL TITLES

[N.B. Most of the terms are now obsolete and the meanings given here are often conjectural. Where no meaning is given it is to be understood that no likely interpretation is available.]

The figures following a term indicate the serial numbers of the inscriptions in which the term occurs.

Vogel's *Chamba* stands for *Antiquities of Chamba State* by Vogel.

The *Mahāvīyutpatti* referred to is that published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal as *Memoirs*, Vol. IV.

'M. Williams' means Monier-Williams's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.]

अधिकृत, XII, 'an officer.'

अध्यक्ष, XVI, 'a superintendent.'

अन्तःप्रतीहार, XVI; cf. *antahpāla* (M. Williams s.v.); probably 'one who guards the inner apartments of a palace.'

अन्तरङ्ग, II, VI-XI; it is generally followed by *Bṛihad-uparika*, the two, according to some authorities, forming one term (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43). Sometimes it occurs independently, e. g. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 326, l. 18; also in a copper-plate of Kulastambha (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 402, l. 21). According to some writers it means 'the court physician' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43, n. 1).

आङ्गिकरणिक्, XVI, literally 'one concerned with oaths.'

आभ्यन्तरिक, XVI, literally 'one concerned with the interior.'

उपरिक, XVI; cf. *वृहदुपरिक*; see Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 123. In the Damodarapur copper-plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 113 ff) the *Uparika* is described as ruling over a province (*bhukti*) under the Imperial monarch and occupying the position of a Viceroy.

एकसरक, XVI.

औद्यितासनिक, XVI; cf. *Mahātthitāsānika*, Panchobh copper-plate, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 588. See above, p. 153, n. 4.

कर्मकर, XVI, 'an artisan.'

करण, XIII, XIV, XVI; 'the Kāyastha caste' as well as 'a writer, or a clerk' (Bühler, *Ind. Pal.*, trans., p. 101). The terms *karaṇika* and *kāyastha* are used synonymously in Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 152, n. 3.). Kielhorn takes the word *karana* to mean 'a deed, a legal document' and *karaṇika*, 'the writer of legal documents' (*Ep. Ind.*,

Vol. IV, p. 105). But *karana* is frequently used for *karanika* also (cf. Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, 2nd ed., p. 305). On *kāyastha* see Vogel's *Chamba*, pp. 133-34.

कुमार, XV, 'a crown prince.'

कुमारामात्य, XVI, 'a councillor of the crown prince ;' see Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 123.

कोटपति, XVI, 'a commander of a fort.'

कोटपाल, I, probably the same as कोटपति ; used also in Pāla copper-plates, e.g. Bangarh grant, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 327 ; according to M. Williams 'a commander of a strong-hold', cf. *kottarāja* of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, p. 29 ; cf. modern *kotwāl* for 'Prefect of city police.'

खड्गग्रह, XVI, probably the same as *khadgaraksha* of the Chamba inscriptions ; 'a class of body-guards carrying swords.'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 128. Cf. *khadgika* of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*.

खण्डपाल, XVI, probably the same as *Khaṇḍaraksha* of the Chamba inscriptions ; but *khaṇḍa* does not here stand for *khadga* as Vogel thinks (*Chamba*, p. 127) ; the compounds probably mean 'superintendent of repairs.'

खोल, XVI ; occurs also in the Khālimpur plate, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253.

गमागमिक, XVI, probably 'a courier' (Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 126) ; occurs also in Pāla inscriptions, e.g. Khālimpur plate, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253.

गौलिक्, VI-XI, XII, XIII-XVI, probably 'a military or police officer.'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 127 ; 'an overseer or superintendent of forests'—Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, n. 9) and Fleet (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 52, n. 4.) ; 'a custom receiver on highways.'—*Mahāvvyutpatti*, p. 33.

चट्ट, II, VI-VIII, X, XI, XIII-XV ; or चाट, I, XVI ; or चाड़, II ; the most satisfactory interpretation is 'the head of a *pargana*' = *chār* of modern Chamba (Vogel's *Chamba*, pp. 130-32). Other interpretations, which are less likely, are 'flatterer' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 176), 'rogue' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 296, 299) and 'irregular soldiers' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 19).

चौरोदरणिक, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'a class of police officers.'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 129.

ठकुर, XVI ; in the *Rājataranginī* it denotes 'a feudatory chieftain' (Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 110) ; cf. *Thakore Sahebs* of modern Kathiawar. This can hardly be the meaning here. In Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions the term is

frequently added to the name of a scribe, e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 120. In the Maner plate, *J.A.S.B.*, 1922, pp. 81-84, the term is applied to the scribe (*karanika*), and also to the donee who was a Brāhmaṇa.

तदानियुक्तक, XVI; cf. *tadāyuktaka* of Khālimpur plate, and *tanniyuktaka*, *vinīyuktaka* etc. of other inscriptions.—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 130.

दण्डनायक, I, II, VI, XI, XIII-XIV; cf. महादण्डनायक, probably 'a judge.'

दण्डपाल, XVI, probably the same as दण्डनायक.

दाण्डपाणिक, XVI, literally 'one who holds the rod'; probably means an officer entrusted with criminal justice or 'a kind of police officer'; cf. *dāṇḍika*, *dāṇḍin*, *dāṇḍapāṇi*.—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 129.

दाण्डपाशिक, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XV, literally 'one who holds the rod and rope' and means probably 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals.'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 129.

दूःसाध्यसाधनिक, XVI; दौःसाधनिक, II, VI-XI, XIV, XV; or दौःसाध्यसाधनिक, I.

दूत, VI-X, XIII, XVI, 'a messenger' or 'an agent or delegate of the king'.—Vogel's *Chamba*, pp. 125-26. See Fleet's note on *dūtaka*, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 100, n. 3.

दूतप्रेषणिक, XVI; also used in Pāla inscriptions, e.g. Bangarh grant, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 327; literally 'one who sends out a messenger.'

पानीयागारिक, XVI, literally, 'one who is in charge of the water chamber.'

पुरोहित, II, VI, VII, VIII, X, 'a priest.'

पौठिकावित्त, II.

बृहदुपरिक, II, VI-XI, 'the great *Uparika*.' See उपरिक.

भट्ट, II, VI-VIII, X, XI, XIII-XV; भट, XVI; भड्ड, II; or भाट, I; frequently joined with *Chattā* in inscriptions: 'a royal servant.' Vogel thinks that it means 'an officer subordinate to' the *Chattā* (*Chamba*, p. 132) which is unlikely as sometimes another word intervenes, e.g. *chāṭa-chāra-bhaṭa* in the Palitana plates of Simhāditya (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 18).

भुक्तिपति, XVI, 'head of a province.'

मण्डलपति, I, 'head of a Division.'

महाकटुक, XVI; occurs also in the Panchobh plate, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 588;

the word *Kaṭuka* occurs in a copper-plate from Almora (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 117 and n. 9).

महाकरणाध्यक्ष, XVI, 'keeper of records.' See also करण.

महाक्षपटलिक, I, II, VI-XI, XVI, 'the Chief Accountant.' The correct meaning of the word *akshapātala* as "Accountant General's office" was first suggested by Stein (Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 133). In the same sense it is used also in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Cf. Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 190, n. 2.

महाकायस्थ, XVI, 'the chief clerk'; see करण; cf. the terms *Prathama-kāyastha* (Damodarpur plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 128) and *Jyeshṭha-kāyastha* (Faridpur plates, *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 211; and Khālimpur plate, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, n. 10).

महागणस्थ, II, VI-XI, probably 'the head of a village or town corporation' (for the meaning of *gana* see R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 138).

महातन्त्राधिकृत, XVI.

महादण्डनायक, XVI; cf. दण्डनायक.

महादुःसाधिक, XIII.

महाधर्मोध्यक्ष, II, VI-XI, XIII-XV, 'the Chief Justice.' Halāyudha held this post in Lakshmanasena's time (*J. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 176).

महापादमूलिक, XVI; the word *pādamūlika* frequently occurs in the Pāli literature in the sense of 'an attendant' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 254, n. 4; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 252). It occurs also in the Tatwagumphā inscription at Khandagiri (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 164).

महापौलुपति, II, VI-XI; occurs also in the Panchobh plate (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 588, l. 7) and the Abhona plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 298, ll. 33-4). It has been generally taken to denote 'the officer-in-charge of elephants' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43; see also M. Williams, *s. v. pīlu*). But in the *Mahāvīryūtpatti*, p. 30, where the term occurs along with *aśvapati* and *gajapati*, it is interpreted as 'chief treasurer,' it is not known on what authority.

महापुरोहित, IX, XI, XIII-XV, 'the chief priest.'

महाप्रतौहार, I, II, VI-XI, XVI, 'High Chamberlain'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 135; cf. Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 190, n. 1.

महाभोगपति, XVI, probably 'a provincial Governor,' the same as *bhuktiapati*. Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 130. Kielhorn takes *bhoga* = *bhukti* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, n. 6).

महाभोगिक, II, VII-XI, probably the same as महाभोगपति.

महामहत्तक XIII, XIV, XVII, literally 'a headman.'

महामण्डलिक, XVI, 'a vassal chief ruling over a *mandala*.' See above p. 151.

महामुद्राधिकृत, II, VI-XI, XVI, 'the Keeper of the Royal seal.'

महावलाधिकरणिक, XVI, probably 'an army chief.'

महावलाकोष्ठिक, XVI.

महाव्यूहपति, I, II, VI, XVI, probably 'a general.'

महासर्व्वाधिकृत, I, XVI, literally 'superintendent of all works.' See above p. 8, n. 1.

महासान्धिविग्रहिक, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'High Minister for peace and war.'

महासामन्त, XVI, 'a vassal chief'; see Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 284, n. 1.

महासेनापति, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'the Commander-in-chief.'

राजन्, II, VI-XI, XIII, XV, XVI, 'a chief' or 'a vassal king.'

राजन्यक, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'a feudatory chieftain,' Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 110.

राजपण्डित, XV, 'the Court Pandit.'

राजपुत्र, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'a noble man,' Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 122.

राजपुरुष, I, 'a State officer.'

राज्ञी, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'a queen,' or 'the wife of a chief.'

राजामात्य, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XV, 'a minister or councillor attached to a chief.'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 122.

राणक, I, II, V-XI, XIII-XVI, cf; the term *rāṇā* which is evidently derived from it. लेखक, XVI, 'a scribe.'

वासागारिक, XVI, literally 'one who is in charge of the residence'; cf. *vāsāpaka* in the Hansot plate of Bhartṛivaddha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 204 and n. 1).

विषयपति, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, 'officer in charge of a District.'—Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 124. See Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 32, n. 7.

व्याघ्रतक, I, II, VI-XI, XIII-XVI, probably 'a class of officers dealing with cattle etc.'; it seems to be a generic term. The mention of *go-mahisha* etc. along with *hasty-aśva* etc. in some inscriptions makes Vogel's interpretation 'officers connected with the army and navy' (*Chamba*, p. 125) untenable. Cf. the word *vyāpāra*, with which it appears to be connected, occurring in a Faridpur plate (*Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 211).

वृद्धधानुष्क, XVI, 'the chief archer.'

शान्तिवारिक, I, 'the priest in charge of propitiatory rites.' See above p. 166.

शान्त्यागारिक, XI, 'the priest in charge of the room where propitiatory rites are performed.' Cf. *śāntisadman* (M. Williams, s. v.). See above p. 170.

शान्त्यागाराधिकृत, II, evidently the same as शान्त्यागारिक.

शौल्किक, I, XVI, 'Customs officer,' Vogel's *Chamba*, p. 127. It is mentioned in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. See also Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 52, n. 3.

शिरोरक्षिक, XVI, literally 'one who protects the head'; probably a class of royal body-guards.

सान्तिकिक, XVI.

सान्धिविशिष्टिक, VIII-X, XV; see महासान्धिविशिष्टिक.

हट्टपति, XVI, 'superintendent of market.' Cf. *gañjapati* in an Almora plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 115, l. 5).

11. ADDITIONAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

P. 1, l. 30.—

This dating generally agrees with the scheme of chronology proposed by Mr. R. D. Banerji after a detailed analysis of the characters employed in a number of inscriptions including the Rāmpāl plate of Śrīchandra, in his article "Date of Śrīchandra" (*Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes, Orientalia*, Part III, p. 221 and chart).

P. 2, l. 2.—

As in all inscriptions of the post-Gupta period, the same sign is used for both *b* and *v* in this and the following records. To this orthographical feature attention has been frequently drawn in the course of this volume.

P. 4, text, l. 3.—

Regarding the spelling of the word *Rohitāgiri* (with *ā*) see my note in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 655-56. The word in this particular form occurs in certain copper-plates of Gayādatuṅga (*J. A. S. B.*, 1909, p. 347 ; and 1916, p. 291) and Vinītatūṅga II of Orissa (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 238). The correct reading of the word in the Rāmpāl plate is due to Mr. Sib Chandra Sil (*Sāhitya*, Chaitra, 1320 B.S.). See Haridas Mitra, *I. H. Q.*, Vol. III, p. 217.

P. 2, l. 32.—

A fourth record of the reign of Śrīchandra, the Dhullā copper-plate has been made available to me and is noticed along with his Edilpur plate in the Appendices.

P. 6, verse 2.—

The word *santānin* literally means 'one who has progeny,' but it is used here evidently in a special sense. Some of the South-Indian inscriptions mention seven kinds of *santāna* or 'duties' the performance of which was looked upon as meritorious. These are : (1) the procreation of a son, (2) composition of a poem, (3) hoarding of treasure, (4) planting of a grove, (5) marriage of a girl to a Brahmana, (6) consecration of a temple and (7) the excavation of a tank. A person who had these acts (*santānas*) to his credit could be called *santānavān* (= *santānin*), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 92, v. 43 and n. 3. For other references to the seven *santānas* in South-Indian inscriptions see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 64, v. 9 and n. 3 and p. 289, v. 17 ; Vol. VI, p. 129, v. 15 and n. 4, and p. 130, v. 24 ; and Vol. XIX, p. 160, v. 10. The translation of the phrase *santāninām = agrataḥ* etc. as 'at the top of the members of his family' (R. G. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII,

p. 140) is untenable. It should be, 'at the head of those who have the (seven) *santānas* or meritorious acts to their credit.'

P. 8, l. 10.—

Following Kielhorn and others I have taken the word *samupagata* to mean 'present' or 'assembled.' Mr. Basak interprets it as 'recognized' according to *Amara* III, Bk. ii. 58. But Professor Konow does not accept it (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 42, n. 4). I may point out that in an exactly similar context the word *samaveta* is used, in lieu of *samupagata*, in the Chicacole Plates of Devendra-varman.—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 132, l. 9.

P. 8, l. 23.—

Throughout the book I have taken *pūti* to mean '*pūti* plant' under the idea that it is the same as *pūtika* of Indian Medical texts (M. Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.). But it has also another meaning, viz., 'a species of grass' (*ibid.*), which would probably suit the context better, specially in combination with *trīna*. *Pūti* is translated as 'filthy water' by Mr. Basak which is most improbable (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43, n. 5 and p. 141). Many scholars again read *yūti* for *pūti* (e.g. Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 101, l. 17). In later inscriptions, in which *y* and *p* are often indistinguishable, it is very difficult to say which of these readings is intended. But in earlier records the reading *yūti* is certain, e.g. Nirmand copper-plate of Samudrasena (Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 289, l. 10 and pl. XLIV). In this instance, in a *dvandva* compound, *trīna* and *yūti* are separated by two other words. It is, therefore, wrong to take *trīnayūti* found in certain inscriptions as one word, as some scholars would like to have it (K. M. Gupta, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, pp. 74-75). The phrase *trīnago-yūthi* etc. occurs in a similar context in Chamba inscriptions (Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba*, pp. 167, 168). Vogel thinks *goyūthi* = *gavyūti* = 'grazing ground,' and translates *go-chara*, which follows immediately, as 'pasture ground.' But 'pasture ground' and 'grazing ground' are one and the same thing. The word *yūti* which forms a part of *gavyūti*, or more correctly *go-yūti*, means 'fastening' (cf. *bahir-yūti* in M. Williams), so that *go-yūti* means 'the place where cattle are kept fastened' as distinguished from *go-chara* 'the place where cattle graze about.' Therefore if we have to read *yūti* instead of *pūti*, the former may be taken to stand for *go-yūti* i.e., 'fastening ground for cattle.'

P. 8, l. 32.—

Literally, '*bhūmichchhidra-nyāya* means 'the principle of a hole in the land.' For various interpretations of this 'principle' see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 46, n.; Bühler, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 106, n.; Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol.

III, p. 138, n. 2 ; and Bhadkamkar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 177. But none of these is suitable. According to the *Vaijayantī*, *bhūmi* or 'land' is called *chhidra* when it is unfit for cultivation, and the word *bhūmichchhidra* is used in that sense in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya (K. M. Gupta, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 77). The Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva has *bhūmichchhidrañ=cha akiñchitkara-grāhyam*, i.e. 'uncultivable land is not taxable' (Padmanath Vidyavinod, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 121, n. 3), which seems to be the principle (*nyāya*) observed in granting land.

P. 9, l. 1.—

Ch. 149 of the *Agnipurāṇa* describes the benefits a king may derive by performing the Koṭihoma rite.

P. 9, l. 3.—

The three Rishis evidently are : Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala.

P. 10, para. 2.—

Mr. Bhattasali published his reading of the inscription with a facsimile in the Bengali journal *Pratibhā* (Āśvina, 1326 B.S.). An article on the copper-plate by Mr. Haridas Mitra appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II (June 1926), pp. 313-42.

P. 14, l. 27.—

The date assigned to the plate fully agrees with the chronological scheme adopted by Mr. R. D. Banerji after an analysis of the scripts of several inscriptions (*Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes, Orientalia*, Part III, p. 221 and chart).

P. 16, l. 12.—

The abbreviations *ni etc* occur in most of the copper-plates dealt with in this volume. The letter *ni* stands for *nibaddha* on which see my note above, p. 149, n. 3.

P. 23, verse 11.—

I am indebted to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar for the following translation which appears to be more suitable : "To him belonged Mālavadevī, the (most) beautiful (lady) in the three worlds, the daughter of Jagadvijayamalla and the banner of the god of Love." As Sāmalavarman's son Udayī is mentioned prior to the former's queen Mālavadevī (v. 10) and she is described as 'the Chief Queen,' it is possible that Udayī was the issue of some other wife of Sāmalavarman.

P. 24, l. 9.—

Cf. *khaṇḍa* meaning 'a section of a province,' perhaps synonymous with *vishaya*, Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 32, n. 7.

P. 25, n. 3.—

A reading of the Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva inscription with a Bengali translation and a totally indistinct facsimile was published by Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Vol. I, part 1 (2nd ed., 1318 B.S.), pp. 304-12.

P. 31, n. 4.—

Some writers identify Siddhala with the present village of Sidhala near Ahmadpur, in Birbhum District, vide *Birbhūm Vivaraṇa* by Harekrishna Mukherji, Pt. 2, p. 234.

P. 43, l. 32.—

An echo of the conquests of Vijayasena seems to be contained in three of the verses ascribed to Umāpatidhara in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (M. Chakravarti, *J. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 161).

P. 44, n. 3.—

Some of the kings of Champā (Indo-China) call themselves Brahmakshatriyas in their inscriptions.—R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I, pp. 215-16.

P. 45, n. 3.—

Rāghava belonged to the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga. M. Chakravarti, *J. A. S. B.*, 1903, Part I, p. 113.

P. 46.—

The dates assigned to Vijayasena and his successors rest really on the theory of Kielhorn that Lakshmaṇasena, grandson of Vijayasena, was the originator of the era of 1119 A.D. called after him and reckoned, it is believed, from the year of his accession. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 1 ff.). Subsequent writers holding the same view are principally : R. D. Banerji, *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 273 ff. and *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, 2nd ed., p. 321 ff. ; S. Kumar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 185 ff. ; and N. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 171 ff. This theory, however, has not been generally accepted, principally because Vallālasena, father of Lakshmaṇasena is stated in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* to have been ruling in 1168 A.D. ; see N. N. Vasu, *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa* (Rājanya-kāṇḍa), p. 321 ; R. P. Chanda, *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 62 ; N. K. Bhattasali, *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 167 ; D. C. Bhattacharya, *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 148 ff. and 153 ff. ; and R. C. Majumdar, *J. A. S. B.*, 1921, p. 7 ff. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, however, accepts both the dates, viz., 1119 as the year of coronation of Lakshmaṇasena and 1168 as a

regnal year of Vallālasena ; and he cuts the Gordian knot by supposing the existence of *two* Lakshmaṇasenas. He is of opinion that the Lakshmaṇasena with whose name the era is associated in certain Bodhgayā inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 30 ; and *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 43 ff) and MSS. from Bihar, was not the son of Vallālasena (*Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes*, *Orientalia*, part 2, p. 5). The question, however, is far from being settled and recently Mr. Pramatha Nath Misra has questioned Kielhorn's conclusion on Astronomical grounds—*J. A. S. B.*, 1926, pp. 365-389.

P. 51, n. 1.—

The word literally means 'one who is versed in *Brahmavidyā* or 'the knowledge of the Supreme Being.' The poet imagines that, to Sāmantasena *Brahman* is the same as *pratisubhataśat-otsādana* i.e., 'the extermination of hundreds of opposing soldiers.'

P. 68, l. 5.—

Some writers name this plate after the adjoining village of Sitahati, to avoid confusion with Naihati of 24-Parganas District.

P. 79, l. 13.—

Mr. Kshettres Chattopadhyaya of the Allahabad University suggests that the word *Charana* occurring here and in inscriptions IX and X means the *Sūtras* of Laṭyāyana and Gobhila.

P. 81, l. 2.—

According to Mr. R. D. Banerji the Ānuliā plate was really acquired in Malda town—*Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. 17, p. 136.

P. 84, l. 8.—

Prof. S. N. Majumdar (*Sir Asutosh Com. Vols.*, *Orientalia*, Part 2, p. 424) suggests the identification of Vyāghrataṭī with Bāgḍi, one of the four divisions of Bengal, which included the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra.

P. 96, n. 10.—

Dr. S. K. Chatterji also reads the name as 'Chahala.'—*Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, Pt. I, p. 187.

P. 107, l. 7.—

The word *mārāṅkamalla* seems to occur also in a verse attributed to Umāpati in the *Saduktikarnāmrīta*.—*J. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 161, v. 3.

P. 109, v. 1 and p. 111, v. 11.—

Mr. N. K. Bhattasali has published an interesting account of a lost 'Bhowal Copper-plate' of Lakshmaṇasena (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. III, pp. 89-96). It

appears that this record resembled the Mādhānagar plate in many respects, e.g. the use of the words *Gaurīpriyā* in the first verse and *Kāśirāja* in a subsequent one.

P. 110, ll. 16-17.—

The sign '—' has been used to indicate that a letter with a long sound is missing in the original.

P. 115, n. 1.—

The correct passage should have been कपर्दकपुराणष्टषष्टाधिकशत etc. i.e., 'one hundred and sixty-eight *kaparddakapurāṇas*'.

P. 116, l. 5.—

In this account Mr. Banerji says that the Chaṇḍī image was brought to Dacca from the ruins at Rāmpāl about the year 1875 by Baikuntha Nath Sen, a Deputy Inspector of Schools. The image is now in Jivan Babu's Śiva temple in Dacca town (*Phākār Itihās* by J. M. Ray, pt. 2, p. 391).

P. 118, l. 28.—

The title *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati* etc. is assumed also by earlier kings, e.g. the Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 23, l. 11) and the Kalachuris (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 213, l. 24).

P. 127, verse 8.—

The words *bhogīndra* ('the chief of the opulent') and *jihmaga* ('the crooked') mean here also 'the lord of the serpents' and 'the serpents,' respectively.

P. 140, l. 2.—

So far as Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali of Dacca has been able to ascertain, this plate was found in the year 1925, in the village of Madhyapādā, in Vikramapur Pargana, about 14 miles direct south of Dacca town. It passed through Dacca town to Susang, in Mymensing District and was acquired there by Maharaja Bhupendra Chandra Singh who presented it to the Sāhitya Parishat at Calcutta. Before this a strip had been cut away from the bottom of the plate (*vide facsimiles*).

P. 163, n. 1.—

This place is 9 miles south of the well-known village of Jaynagar after which the plate is sometimes named, e.g. *Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. 17, p. 136. Jaynagar is 30 miles south of Calcutta.

P. 175, v. 4.—

The last word of the first line is so quoted by Rajanikanta Chakravarti in his *Gauder Itihāsa*, pt. 1, p. 263, but as वरेन्द्रे by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda in *Gaudarājamālā*, p. 60.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 2, n. 1 : For 'Ep. nd' read 'Ep. Ind'.
- P. 3, l. 20 : For 'H rikelladeśe Śīlā kanāt ah' read 'Harikelladeśe Śīlālokanāthah' ; l. 21 : if indistinct read 'of Harikela' ; l. 23 : For 'rat' read 'rate' ; l. 27 : For 'Brahmanica' read 'Brahmanical.'
- P. 5, l. 7 : For हलप्रश्न read हृष्यश्च
- P. 6, l. 3 : For भूमिं read भूमिं ; l. 4 : For प्रतिगृह्णाति read प्रतिगृह्णाति and for उभौ read उभौ ; l. 12 : For बुद्धा read बुद्धा ; l. 23 : After 'who possess offspring' insert footnote number '16'.
- P. 7, ll. 6 and 8 and n. 2 : For 'New Moon' read 'new moon' ; l. 14 : For 'on account o' read 'on account of'.
- P. 9, l. 13 : For 'transgressor' read 'transgressor.'
- P. 11, l. 3 : After 'his son' insert 'Suvārnachandra and grandson' ; n. 5 : For 'the second pāda' read 'the third and fourth pādas.'
- P. 12, l. 4 : For स्पृष्टः read स्पृष्टः
- P. 15, l. 21 : For 'Purūravas son' read 'Purūravas's son' ; l. 25 : For 'He made himself etc.' read 'His son Jātavarman who made himself etc.'
- P. 17, l. 2 : For 'probable' read 'probable.'
- P. 19, l. 1 : Close bracket after 'l. 4' ; l. 12 : For 'doneee' read 'donee' ; for n. 3 substitute 'See below p. 33, v. 3.'
- P. 20, l. 22 : For मगुले read मण्डले.
- P. 23, l. 21 : For 'troubles ?' read 'troubles !'
- P. 27, l. 14 : After 'an elder brother' insert 'named Mahādeva and a younger brother' ; l. 18 : After 'Budha,' transfer 'having another name Sphurita' from l. 17.
- P. 33, l. 7 : For प्रवभूव read प्रवभूव ; l. 18 : For गोवईन read गोवईन.
- P. 34, l. 12 : For जानुद्वयः read जानुद्वयः ; l. 19 : For विष read विषय and delete य before ज्ञ.
- P. 36, l. 24 : For 'ven' read 'even.'
- P. 37, heading : For 'Bruvanesvar' read 'Bhuvanesvar.'
- P. 39, n. 4, l. 3 : For gamnam read gamanān.
- P. 40, n. 6 : The particle 'and' should come after '(i.e. Bhuvaneśvar).'
- P. 43, l. 3 : For '11th century' read 'about the end of the 11th century.'
- P. 45, l. 23 : For 'śilpi' read 'śilpi.'
- P. 47, l. 13 : If indistinct read अभवदनवसानो—
- P. 48, l. 4 : For '17' read '16' ; n. 13 : The portion after 'Sragdharā.' should be deleted.
- P. 49, l. 1 : For हान्मोधि मथ्यान्तरौय read हान्मोधिमथ्यान्तरौय.
- P. 50, l. 8 : For 'by the name' read 'after the name' ; l. 21 : For 'beauti ul' read 'beautiful.'
- P. 51, n. 4 : For 'valueles' read 'valueless.'
- P. 54, l. 21 : For 'inhabitantants' read 'inhabitants' ; n. 1, l. 9 : For 'would not not' read 'would not.'
- P. 55, n. 1, l. 7 : For 'clad pssets' read 'clad by' ; l. 8 : For antiraka read antarika and for śipa- read śilpa-
- P. 56, n. 1, l. 3 : For 'striken' read 'stricken' ; n. 1, l. 4 : For 'decen' read 'decent.'
- P. 58, ll. 7-8 : Delete 'a letter is usually doubled.....in l. 9.'
- P. 61, l. 26 : For सञ्च read सञ्च.
- P. 62, l. 9 : For तामसानां read तामसानां.
- P. 63, n. 1 : For 'chatushlayā' read 'chatuṣṭayā.'
- P. 65, n. 2 : For 'Theres' read 'There is'
- P. 67, l. 4 : After 'great-grandson of' add 'Ratnākaraśarma and grandson of' ; l. 5 : For 'Kāntijongā' read 'Kāntijongā.'
- P. 69, l. 6 : For 'l. 11' read 'll.'
- P. 70, l. 23 : For 'weilded' read 'wielded' ; n. 1 refers to verse 21 mentioned on p. 69, l. 35.

- P. 71, l. 27 : For श्रौकण्ड read श्रौकण्ड.
- P. 73 : After text line 32 insert 'Reverse' as heading ; l. 22 : For गोल्मिक read गोल्मिक.
- P. 74, l. 24 : For श्रौत read श्रौत.
- P. 75, l. 13 : For बुद्धा read बुद्धा.
- P. 77, l. 1 : For 'the host of princes whose' read 'the host of princes. His' ; l. 2 : For 'whose' read 'his.'
- P. 78, l. 21 : For '7 dropas' read '9 dropas' ; l. 22 : For 'including' read 'including' and 'plates' read 'places' ; l. 23 : Delete 'maṇḍala' ; l. 25 : Insert 'maṇḍala' at the beginning ; l. 28 : Before 'same' insert 'the.'
- P. 79, l. 2 : For 'Surakoṇāgaḍḍiākiya' read 'Surakoṇāgaḍḍiā.'
- P. 80 : After the translation of verse 20 insert : "(Verse 21). The lord of the Earth, Vallāśena, the conqueror of all kings, has made the Sāndhivigrahika Harighosha his *dūta* in the grant to Ovāsu."
- P. 87, n. 1, l. 2 : After 'in the' insert 'Barrackpur (line 33).'
- P. 89, l. 4 : For 'in the the' read 'in the.'
- P. 90, l. 24 : After 'which measures' add 'according to the Vṛṣhabhaśaṅkara *nala*' ; l. 32 : After 'grandson of' add 'Śaṅkaradevaśarman and great-grandson of'.
- P. 96, l. 20 : For पुण्यहनि read पुण्यहनि ; l. 21 : For उ(त्)संगितत्वात् read उ(त्)संगितत्वात्.
- P. 97, l. 17 : For 'meditated' read 'meditated.'
- P. 103, l. 19 : For 'persence' read 'presence.'
- P. 107, l. 2 : For 'between' read 'of' ; ll. 17-18 : Read 'Lakshmaṇasena' for 'Vallāśena' and vice versa.
- P. 111, l. 17 : For चक्रवत्ति read चक्रवत्ति.
- P. 119, l. 24 : After 'made' add 'in the month of Jyāishṭha of the third regnal year.' L. 26 : For *dramma* read *purāṇa* and delete 'as in the new copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpa-sena.'
- P. 120, l. 4 : For *estasmāt* read *etasmāt*.
- P. 121, ll. 10, 11 : Delete *sa* in *sagandha* and *sagarga* ; l. 18 : For विस्तृत read विस्तृत ; l. 23 : For सुजा read सुजा.
- P. 123, l. 17 : For तापिष्ठैः read तापिष्ठैः ; and मरकतैः (if not clear).
- P. 124, l. 1 : For सगर्ग read सगर्ग.
- P. 125, n. 1 : For *dirgha* read *dīrgha* ; l. 16 : For पक्ष read पक्ष.
- P. 126, l. 11 : After स' insert इ.
- P. 127, l. 27 : For 'leavng' read 'leaving.'
- P. 130, l. 17 : For 'second' read 'third.'
- P. 133, l. 25 : After 'Tatṭana' add "but in my opinion, as 'Tyashṭana'."
- P. 135, l. 9 : For सतीर्णाः read सतीर्णाः.
- P. 137, n. 7 : For '23' read '21.'
- P. 138, l. 1 : For वर्ष read वर्ष.
- P. 143, l. 27 : For पक्ष read दुर्ग.
- P. 144, l. 21 : For '32' read '23'.
- P. 145, l. 24 : For प्रदीप read प्रदीप.
- P. 146, l. 17 : For समुत्सर्गित read समुत्सर्गित.
- P. 147, l. 10 : For महेश्वरस्य read महेस(श्च)रस्य ; l. 25 : For नाव्ये (?) read नाव्ये.
- P. 152, l. 5 : After वभूव space, and instead of the hyphen the usual horizontal stroke denoting a long sound.
- P. 155, l. 11 : Delete (ना) after नृपाणां.
- P. 157, l. 9 : For '3' read '2' ; l. 16 : For '4' read '3.'
- P. 165, l. 7 : After 'a single plate' insert 'it is'.
- P. 179, n. 8 : Sastri's reading is संचेपद्वात्रिंशद्विंशानाधिक etc.

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